

The Robert Lehman Collection

V

Italian Fifteenth- to Seventeenth-Century Drawings

ANNA FORLANI TEMPESTI

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
in association with
Princeton University Press, Princeton

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Foreword

For the first time, this volume makes all the drawings of the earlier Italian schools in the Robert Lehman Collection accessible to a professional as well as a general audience, and gives them the historical attention and scrutiny they deserve. More than any other collector of his generation in the United States, Robert Lehman was intent on acquiring early drawings. He made a concerted effort to add drawings from the fifteenth and the early sixteenth century to the collection of paintings, sculpture, ceramics, glass, and other objects that his father, Philip, and he had assembled and that he continued to expand. Some of the world's major early Italian drawings are discussed here, and others of the early German and Netherlandish schools will be catalogued later in this series.

Robert Lehman greatly enlarged his father's small yet exemplary collection of Italian paintings from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and his acquisition of drawings was a logical extension of this interest in Sienese, Florentine, and other early Italian paintings. Although he also sought later sixteenth-century Italian drawings, at times eagerly, his preference for the earlier period was clear. "I know you prefer rather earlier drawings," James Byam Shaw wrote to him in 1960 about a fine and very important study by Taddeo Zuccaro, "but the finest of the Italian Mannerists are very impressive." In this case Robert Lehman acquired the drawing (No. 100), but it remained something of an exception, for he bought relatively few other drawings from the late sixteenth century and even fewer from the seventeenth. His taste in this respect was shared by most collectors and art historians during the decades between the two World Wars. It was inherited from an older generation influenced and at times exemplified by Bernard Berenson. Mannerist and Baroque drawings were "discovered" only later.

Then too, no museum or collector in the United States could have been unaware of J. Pierpont Morgan's acquisition in 1910 of the collection of the English artist and dealer Charles Fairfax Murray. The fifteen hundred European drawings ranging in date from the late fourteenth to the eighteenth century form the nucleus of the holdings of the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York. But whereas that collection was acquired virtually *en bloc*, Robert Lehman selected sheets one by one or, on occasion, in small groups. He purchased most of the drawings catalogued here at auctions (notably the Grassi and Oppenheimer sales in 1924 and 1936) or from dealers, often in London but also in Paris and New York, and only rarely acquired drawings directly from previous owners. He apparently made up his mind in each case independently, exercising his own preferences and choosing a drawing only when he liked it, whether for its quality, subject, provenance, or whatever other aspect made it attractive to him. Only later in his life, in 1962, did he acquire an entire collection, the more than one hundred Italian eighteenth-century drawings assembled by Paul Wallraf and included in one of the volumes already published in this series.

Robert Lehman's collection demonstrates the variety of drawings produced in Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when the purposes and techniques of drawings, as well as the aims and abilities of the artists who made them, saw an ever-increasing

sophistication. Among the most beautiful and most remarkable fifteenth-century drawings in the collection, in my view, are two quite different sheets: Antonio Pollaiuolo's *Study for an Equestrian Monument* (No. 69), one of the very few elaborate designs for a large sculpture in the round preserved from such an early date, and Leonardo da Vinci's magnificent *Bear Walking* (No. 80), a vivid testimony not only to the artist's keen observation of an animal in motion but also to his probing examination of anatomical structure.

The collection also includes a large number of other drawings that are among the best Italian examples to have been preserved from this period. The very early and significant sheet of allegorical figures drawn with brush and metalpoint on reddish violet paper about 1420–30 by an artist close to Lorenzo Monaco (No. 62) is a case in point, as is the delicate study *A Gazelle in Profile* from the circle of Michelino da Besozzo (No. 9). Particularly noteworthy among the early drawings are the no less than six sheets associated with Stefano da Verona (Nos. 2–7), one of the most talented and creative draftsmen of the early fifteenth century, that Robert Lehman bought as a group in 1924 at the Grassi sale in London. Two elaborate scenes involving figures in varied and complex actions, *Vulcan Building a Fence Around the Mount of Venus* (No. 13) and *The Descent into Limbo* (No. 11) reflect the concerns of Giovanni Bellini and Andrea Mantegna that revolutionized the artistic scene in Venice and Mantua in the late fifteenth century.

Most types of drawings, in a wide variety of techniques, are found here: a number of figure studies, some grand compositions, landscapes, a few small cartoons (one by Signorelli [No. 71] and another attributed to Raffaellino del Garbo [No. 83]) and *modelli* (Pollaiuolo's of the late 1400s [No. 69] and Taddeo Zuccaro's of about 1558 [No. 100]), and even some sculptors' studies. More significant is that the collection includes drawings of very high quality that particularly exemplify the endeavors in specific centers. I have already mentioned some of the fifteenth-century drawings in this regard. The sixteenth-century sketch of a figure writing in a spacious river landscape (No. 19) announces a new way of representing nature that departs from Giorgione's poetic vistas and anticipates Titian's pastoral settings. Taddeo Zuccaro's large and impressive *Martyrdom of Saint Paul* (No. 100), a study for a vault fresco in the church of San Marcello al Corso in Rome, demonstrates the Mannerist fascination with restless action, elongated figures, and dramatic light. And Primaticcio's *Two Nymphs Carrying a Third* (No. 35) is characteristic of another brand of Mannerism, the one exported to Fontainebleau. This remarkable variety does not imply completeness. A collection of this nature cannot be representative of the simultaneous diversity and successive changes in all the artistic centers in such a vast territory and over such a long period. Even the largest printrooms fall short of this aim, and this is particularly true for the sixteenth century.

This catalogue discusses the drawings in roughly chronological order in two broad categories, Northern Italy and Central and Southern Italy. It differs from other catalogues in several respects. Many of these drawings had previously been studied either not at all or only in a preliminary fashion, so that in order to answer questions about their historical origins, a great deal of research had to be carried out. It was clear from the outset that, as is frequently the case with Italian art of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, particularly in the medium of drawing, the insufficient documentation and

the diverse nature of the drawings themselves would often prevent establishing a precise attribution, date, or even place of origin. To reconstruct the origin and significance of each individual drawing, and thereby secure for it the respect it deserves, from mere recognition of its historical function to admiration for its artistic quality and its relative contribution, is obviously far more difficult under these circumstances than when author and date are well established. Creating a convincing context from which reasonable conclusions can be drawn is an awesome task, requiring intuitive application of a store of visual knowledge and painstaking comparison with other drawings—as well as experience, caution, sensitivity, and a good deal of patience.

Anna Forlani Tempesti has fully met these requirements. She has judiciously endeavored to place every drawing within the context of either the artist's oeuvre or the artistic circle or trend to which it belongs, thereby not only reconstructing the historical role of the drawing itself but also clarifying the very fabric of the artistic concerns it represents. In the final analysis, many leads, dutifully followed and elaborately discussed, had to be abandoned, but in tracing them the author was able to elucidate the historical function and stylistic features of the drawings. Other paths led her to assign drawings cautiously to a time and place or to an artist or his circle or following. In the process, she not only recorded previous opinions but also carefully evaluated them with regard to their merits or persuasiveness. Sylvie Béguin, who did pioneering work for the catalogue of the exhibition of Robert Lehman's collection in Paris in 1957 (the first exhibition of a private American collection in Europe), and George Szabo, who included most of these drawings in his catalogues of 1978, 1979, and 1983, are quoted, as are those who wrote on individual drawings in widely dispersed books, articles, and catalogues.

For anyone concerned with the art of the Italian Renaissance, whether in a general sense or professionally, and especially for collectors and art historians, this volume will be a guide through the maze of questions posed by works of art that in one way or another are related to the drawings catalogued here. On behalf of the institutions associated with the preparation and publication of the catalogue of the Robert Lehman Collection, I should like to express my gratitude to Anna Forlani Tempesti for having completed this task with a great sense of responsibility toward the drawings, toward the artists who made them, and toward the discipline that tries to clarify their history.

Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann

John Langeloth Loeb Professor of the History of Art, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University; Coordinator of the Robert Lehman Collection Catalogue Project

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Anna Forlani Tempesti

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Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann

Note to the Reader

The drawings have been remeasured for this catalogue. Measurements have been taken through the center. Height precedes width.

“Inscription” and “inscribed” refer to comments, notes, words, and numbers presumably written by the artist who made the drawing; “annotation” and “annotated” refer to the same when added by another hand.

“Lugt” or “Lugt Suppl.” and a number in parentheses following the name of a collector indicates that the collector’s mark, identified and discussed by Frits Lugt in *Les marques de collections de dessins et d’estampes* (Amsterdam, 1921) or *Supplément* (The Hague, 1956), appears on the drawing. “See Lugt” and a number indicates that the reader is being referred to Lugt’s entry on that particular collector.

References to books and articles have been abbreviated to the author’s name and the date of publication, references to exhibitions to city and year, and references to sale catalogues, where possible, to the collector’s name and the year of the sale. The key to these abbreviations is found on pages 347–68.

Works published after 1988, when the manuscript was completed, have been cited (but not reflected in the discussion in the text) only in some instances and only when they refer directly to a drawing in the Robert Lehman Collection.

The entry for each drawing is preceded either by a city or region and a date or, when more precise identification is possible, by an artist’s name (indicating that that artist is the author of the drawing), an artist’s name and a question mark (indicating that there is some doubt as to his authorship), or one of the following designations (listed in order of increasing distance from the artist): *Workshop of* implies that the drawing was made by an unidentified collaborator or assistant. *School of* implies that the drawing was made by an unidentified pupil. *Circle of* implies that the drawing has a stylistic relationship with the artist’s work and that it was made by a contemporary who presumably was influenced by him. *Follower of* carries the same implications as “circle of” but suggests that the artist who made the drawing belonged to a younger or later generation. *After* indicates that the drawing is a copy after an original that is either known or can be postulated. *Imitator of* implies that the author of the drawing, who may or may not have been a contemporary, imitated the style of the artist.

NORTHERN ITALY
Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

Venice

Early fifteenth century

1. Design for an Antependium: The Madonna della Misericordia with Saints John the Baptist and John the Evangelist, the Circumcision, and the Presentation of the Virgin

1975.I.256

Pen and brown ink, yellow watercolor in the backgrounds of the niches. 146 x 263 mm. Trimmed and very faded; tear at lower right; stains at left; the pupils of the Madonna retouched by a later hand(?).

Despite its poor state of preservation, which even precludes reading certain details, this drawing is of great interest not only for its high quality but also for its rarity. Only Degenhart and Schmitt have studied it in depth, from both a stylistic and a thematic point of view. As they recognized, this is a rare project for an antependium, intended to be embroidered on cloth to cover the front of an altar.¹ Various elements bear this out, in particular the horizontal oblong format and the border, which is decorated at the top and bottom with small half-length figures of saints enclosed in quadrilobes separated by foliage and which must have continued on either side where the sheet has been trimmed. The ground of yellowish wash behind the figures seems to be a technical indication of the overall color of the cloth, perhaps silk, to which the drawing would have been transferred from a cartoon. And the exclusively linear outlining, easily translatable into thread, is a further indication that this was a design for an embroidered frontal, as is the way in which the scene is divided. This arrangement – three compartments of the same broad dimensions separated by two narrower ones – seldom occurs on painted polyptychs but was used on cloth liturgical hangings like the famous silk *Parement de Narbonne*, now in the Louvre, Paris, as early as the fourteenth century.

Degenhart and Schmitt have stressed that Venice was among the principal centers of silk production in Italy in the fourteenth century, and that one of the most valued and widely distributed silk fabrics was the so-called *opus venetum*. The Venetian area is indicated as well by the typological similarities between our sheet and other projects of this kind cited by Degenhart and Schmitt, most notably two antependiums from Croatia, one of about the middle of the fourteenth century that is in the Benedictine convent of Santa Maria in Zadar and another inspired by the manner of Paolo Veneziano that came

from Krk (Veglia) and is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. On the frontal in Zadar the central compartment is also flanked by John the Baptist and John the Evangelist, in poses quite similar to those used here, and there are similar figures of angels in the spandrels. The iconography of the lateral scenes on our sheet, espe-



No. 1, detail



No. 1



No. 1, detail

cially that of the two saints (seen here much as they appear in so many polyptychs by Paolo Veneziano and his followers), points yet again to the Venetian area, and the motifs in the Gothic framing are related to those in Venetian painted polyptychs and sculptured monuments of the late fourteenth and the fifteenth century. Then too, the theme of the Madonna della Misericordia is widely diffused in the Veneto, where it is called the Mariegola.

In the Veneto as in other parts of Italy, the Madonna della Misericordia has been depicted according to a highly tenacious iconographic tradition, whereas representations of the confraternity members or other suppliants gathered at her feet are more varied and reflect changing fashions in clothing as well as subtle variations in style. Degenhart and Schmitt recall three other Mariegolas in which the same two saints flank the Virgin: one from the mid-fourteenth century in the Civici Musei di Storia ed Arte, Trieste; another of 1422 from the Scuola della Misericordia at Mogliano (now in the Biblioteca Comunale, Treviso); and a third, by Jacobello del Fiore, dated 1436, in the Accademia, Venice.² Such a long-standing, almost iconic tradition makes it difficult to date our drawing, apart from the fact that a proper reading of its style is hampered by the severe fading of the sheet. Nonetheless, the Virgin has a quite unusual "Gothic bend," and the graceful figures of the confraternity members and their costumes (so far as they can be made out) are also typical of a time later than the end of the fourteenth century, the date Degenhart and Schmitt seem to opt for. Although Grassi shares Degenhart and Schmitt's preference for an earlier date for our sheet, emphasizing its importance in the context of the few drawings intended for woven works that have come down to us, others who have dealt with it, albeit briefly, agree in proposing a date within the new century.³ A note in the Robert Lehman Collection files says that Berenson labeled this sheet "Piedmont?" Another unsigned note in the file describes the drawing as "certainly not Tuscan, style of Giovanni d'Alemagna and Antonio Vivarini," thus again pointing toward Venice and a cultural ambience that, though still archaic, already belonged fully to the Quattrocento.

Although our drawing does seem to come from that particular culture, the Madonna, the confraternity members, and, so far as they can be made out, the small saints in the quadrilobes all seem more eccentric, subtle, and naturalistic than Vivarini's delicate figures. One is reminded of two artists, often confused with each other, who were already active at the close of the Trecento and remained so into the Quattrocento and who were both

Venetian but with Veronese and transalpine echoes, namely, Niccolò di Pietro and Zanino di Pietro. It is not by chance that the cartoons of the most famous series of Venetian textiles of the time, the tapestries with the Passion in the Museo di San Marco, have been alternately attributed to these two artists.⁴ Among Niccolò's works, in particular, one can look at *Saint Ursula and Her Companions* (Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna), which has a modulated rhythm similar to that of this Madonna, and one can also compare the figures on our sheet with the donors in his *Coronation of the Virgin* (Senni collection, Grottaferrata) and with the confraternity members clustered around the principal figure in the *Madonna and Child with Angels and Saints* of 1408 (Museo Civico, Padua) and in the *Coronation of the Virgin* (Accademia dei Concordi, Rovigo).

Because the Marian themes used here are standard ones and the saints pictured in the quadrilobes are quite varied (and not all readily identifiable), these elements are of little help in hypothesizing for whom this antependium design was intended. The presence in the lower quadrilobes of both Saint Francis and Saint Anthony, however, might suggest that it was commissioned by a confraternity of the Franciscan persuasion.

NOTES:

1. This is not to exclude entirely Christiansen's suggestion (1979, p. 200) that this may be a drawing for a sculpted altarpiece or frontal.
2. See Degenhart and Schmitt 1980–82, p. 91. The Mariegola by Jacobello del Fiore belongs to a triptych now in the Accademia, Venice (Moschini Marconi 1955, no. 27), that is dated 1436 but was perhaps painted before then.
3. Szabo published it in the catalogue for the exhibition in New York in 1978 as "Venetian, c. 1400," and before that the catalogues for the sale at Sotheby's in 1921 and the Oppenheimer sale in 1936 had identified it as "Florentine in the style of Lorenzo Monaco, ca. 1400" and "Italian, ca. 1400," respectively.
4. See Scarpa Sonino 1975–76, pp. 783–84, where Niccolò di Pietro and the works listed here are also discussed.

PROVENANCE: Lord Amherst of Hackney; Amherst sale 1921, lot 18; Henry Oppenheimer, London; Oppenheimer sale 1936, lot 2A. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1936.

EXHIBITED: Northampton (Mass.) 1942–44; New York 1978, no. 11, ill.

LITERATURE: Christiansen 1979, p. 200, fig. 5; Degenhart and Schmitt 1980–82, no. 642, pl. 22b; Ruggeri 1981a, p. 247; Szabo 1983, pp. 50, 63, fig. 41; Grassi 1984, p. 324.

Stefano da Verona

Verona(?) 1374(?)–Verona after 1438

Stefano da Verona, often in the past erroneously called Stefano da Zevio, was the leading figure of the International Gothic school in Verona. His early paintings show his debt to Altichiero, and the influence of Michelino da Besozzo is evident in his later works. As one might expect, he was also aware of the work of Northern artists. Stefano is recorded in Veronese documents of 1424, 1425, 1433, and 1438. Among his best-known paintings are *The Madonna and Angels* in the Galleria Colonna, Rome; *The Madonna of the Rose Garden* in the Museo di Castelvecchio, Verona; and *The Adoration of the Magi* in the Brera, Milan, the only painting he both signed and dated (1435). His signature was also once visible on the now badly damaged frescoes in Santa Eufemia in Verona, and a possibly authentic signature can be read on *Four Mounted Knights Fighting*, a drawing in the Lugt collection that can be connected with drawings in the Albertina that are in turn related to the Santa Eufemia frescoes.

Stefano's corpus of drawings is larger than that of any of his contemporaries except Pisanello, and his skill as a draftsman is reflected in his paintings and frescoes, which have a more pronounced graphic tendency than do those of Michelino. His drawings can be distinguished by the elegant but rather scratchy penwork that defines his images with marked contours and intense parallel hatching.

Stefano da Verona(?)

2. Bearded Nude Male Figure Running Toward the Right

1975.I.422

Pen and brown ink. 306 x 203 mm. Various tears restored. Annotated in pen and brown ink in a fifteenth-century hand at the lower right: *Avanti*; at the upper right: *Fato(?)*. . . . Trace of a fragmented watermark with a caduceus (or a thin spot in the paper).

This sheet and Nos. 3–7, all acquired by Robert Lehman at the sale of the Grassi collection in 1924, are part of a group of drawings that were once in the collection of the Moscardo family of Verona and perhaps before that in the Calceolari (or Calzolari) collection in that same city.¹ Because these drawings came from Verona and because they show stylistic traits typical of the Lombard-Veneto

International Gothic, scholars have from the first been oriented toward a Veronese attribution. In the Grassi sale catalogue this drawing was designated “early Veronese school,” and Berenson noted in his copy of the catalogue that he too considered it Veronese.² In 1954 Degenhart attributed it to Stefano da Verona on the basis of comparisons with the study *Five Male Figures* in the Janos Scholz collection, New York,³ and a fairly large group of other sheets he had ascribed to Stefano as early as 1937, although that first nucleus of drawings has since been questioned by Fiocco and others.⁴

By and large it has been the Italian scholars, Fiocco among them, who have tended to restrict the catalogue of Stefano's graphic works, accepting as autograph only the *Charity*, *Half-Figure* (recto) and *Madonna and Child and a Female Head* (verso), *Mother with Daughters(?)* (recto and verso), and *Two Women and a Man Standing* (recto) and *Two Women and a Female Head* (verso) in the Uffizi, Florence;⁵ the *Allegory of Dialectic and Grammar* in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan;⁶ the *Evangelists* (a seated male figure on the recto and another on the verso, both studies for the now-destroyed decoration of the Rama Chapel in San Francesco, Mantua) in the British Museum, London;⁷ the *Two Standing Women and a Female Head* (recto) and *Three Standing Women* (verso) formerly in the Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden;⁸ the *Angel* (recto) and *Battle* (verso)⁹ and *Three Prophets* in the Albertina, Vienna;¹⁰ and, among the sheets in the Lugt collection, Paris, only the *Coronation of the Virgin*.¹¹

Other scholars have been inclined to broaden this base and have added to this group of the finest and most securely attributed drawings, comparable to Stefano's late paintings, a number of other examples from the old Calceolari and Moscardo collections. The most recent investigation of this larger group was undertaken in 1983 by Byam Shaw in connection with the Lugt holdings.¹² Byam Shaw, while recognizing the diversity of styles, and also quality, in the Lugt sheets as compared with the nucleus of more secure drawings, accepts their attribution to Stefano. For obvious reasons of stylistic and typological similarity, this effectively brings under the same name both this sheet and No. 3.

The question is not so easily resolved, however. The drawings assembled by Fiocco and generally accepted by



No. 2



Fig. 2.1 Attributed to Stefano da Verona, *Three Prophets*. Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna. Photograph: Fonds Albertina

Italian writers as being by Stefano certainly form a quite unified group and are of a high level of artistic feeling, whereas many of the other sheets attributed to him are somewhat mechanical and of uneven quality. One therefore risks bringing under one and the same name, for reasons of affinity, examples of lesser quality, such as Nos. 4 and 5. Yet certain of the more secure drawings, among them the two in the Albertina, the *Angel* (which is very close to the painting *The Madonna of the Rose Garden* in the Museo di Castelvecchio, Verona)¹³ and the *Three Prophets* (which is close to such paintings as the decoration of the Rama Chapel in Mantua and the *Angels* in San Fermo in Verona), also include figures or details of figures that recall (or anticipate?) stylistic elements of the less certain sheets, which are somewhat awkward and thus generally considered to be from Stefano's youth.

The *Three Prophets* (Fig. 2.1) comes from the Calceolari and Moscardo collections and has an early annotation, *Stefano falconeto*. The name Falconeto also appears,

significantly, on other sheets in the less secure group.¹⁴ As both Fiocco and Byam Shaw have noted, Vasari says that Stefano had a half-brother named Giovan'Antonio who was also a painter. Giovan'Antonio's grandson, Stefano's grandnephew, was Giovanni Maria Falconetto (1468–after 1533), the well-known architect and painter.¹⁵ Whether Falconetto was also Stefano's family name is not clear, but it is more probable that the annotation refers not to Stefano himself but to some early owner of the drawing. That owner could perhaps even have been Giovan'Antonio, to whom Fiocco was tempted to attribute the execution of the earlier drawings, which he described as in "a lesser vein, tighter, rather punctilious, linked to reality on the one hand but on the other incapable of breathing life into it and making of it a pulsating graphic reality, and so much in contrast with Stefano's lyricism and stupendous fluency."¹⁶ Fiocco's hypothesis is not borne out by any further information about Giovan'Antonio, but his argument does point up the decline in style in some of the figures, and even in entire sheets, in the group of less certain drawings.



Fig. 2.2 Attributed to Stefano da Verona, *Samson Killing the Lion*. Fondation Custodia (Collection Frits Lugt), Institut Néerlandais, Paris

This drawing closely corresponds to at least three other studies in the controversial group: one in the Uffizi, a *Young Nude Male*,¹⁷ and two in the Lugt collection, *Samson Killing the Lion* (Fig. 2.2), which Byam Shaw believes is probably a later work, and *Samson and the Philistine*, which he considers to be of Stefano's latest period, about 1450.¹⁸ Our sheet has much in common, in particular, with *Samson Killing the Lion*. In both drawings the anatomy of the male nude in action has been handled in a rather constrained way, and the figure is modeled with short parallel strokes that make him look hairy, even furry. Both figures also have the somewhat animal-like expression typical of International Gothic faces, whereas the treatment of the hair, rendered in thick, compact strands, is Paduan in style and thus foreshadows Renaissance techniques. Yet the same broad, curved penstrokes used to model our figure's left leg also appear in a drawing in the Lugt collection, *Four Mounted Knights Fighting* (Fig. 2.3), that bears what is likely to be an autograph signature, *Stefanus*.¹⁹ And one can also compare the head of our figure, with its wild, flowing hair and curly beard, with those in some of the more certainly attributed drawings, in particular the Uffizi *Charity*, where the cherubs are also drawn with the same furry linework, and the Albertina *Three Prophets* (Fig. 2.1), where the lowermost prophet has the same pointed, well-delineated nose. The figures in the *Evangelists* in the British Museum are of the same type as ours, though the technique is scratchier, and the five male figures in the Scholz collection drawing, though stiffer than this one, have similar faces. In none of the secure drawings, however, is there any suggestion of landscape, which may have been called for here by the subject itself.²⁰

Just what that subject might be is another unanswered question (which is not to say that the theme is always clear in the other drawings tentatively ascribed to Stefano). Lugt called the figure a Wild Man; Béguin suggested he might represent the Wind, beating on his shield and making sparks fly from it;²¹ and Szabo, noting that he wears a shoe or some other kind of footwear on his right foot, deduced possible links with Mercury as he is represented in some bronze statues from Gaul or with Saturn as he is sometimes shown in depictions inspired by Petrarch's *Trionfi*.²² But not even Szabo's careful analysis yields convincing results, and we are still in the dark as to the precise significance of this figure, which is obviously in some way allegorical. The most plausible reading sees him as a personification of the Wind, a capricious spring wind to judge by his running pose (emphasized by the

word *avanti* written at the lower right), his fluttering hair, the shield (which, though its presence here is seemingly contradictory, could perhaps be a symbol of defense against a tempest), and the cluster of flowers he holds in his hand.²³

NOTES:

1. The statement in Lugt 1956, p. 171, under 1171b (and see also p. 422, under 2990a), and Paris 1957, no. 127, suggesting that these drawings were with the Calceolari family until 1920 has been clarified by Byam Shaw (Venice 1981, pp. 2–3; Byam Shaw 1983, n. 4 under no. 193). Byam Shaw pointed out that the Calceolari collection existed in the sixteenth century and that Luigi Grassi acquired the drawings from the Moscardo family in 1905. He also noted that the drawings in the "G.L." collection offered for sale at Sotheby's in 1924 no longer belonged to Grassi but to Frits Lugt, who had purchased them from Grassi in November 1923 as part of a group of more than 500 drawings. Of that group Lugt kept 37 (including 21 with the Calceolari-Moscardo provenance), exchanged 52 with the Albertina, and sold the remainder at Sotheby's in 1924, where these six drawings, according to Byam Shaw the only six with the Calceolari-Moscardo provenance, were bought by Robert Lehman.
2. In Berenson's library at the Harvard Center for Renaissance Studies at Villa I Tatti, Florence, however, the photographs of the drawing are classed under Stefano da Zevio.
3. Venice 1957, no. 1.
4. Fiocco 1950, pp. 58, 60–62.
5. Uffizi, 1101E, 1102E, 1104E, 1106E; Florence 1978, nos. 54–57, and see also Fiocco 1950, pls. 37–39, figs. 6–10 (Fiocco does not illustrate the *Two Women and a Man Standing*). It has been suggested that the *Mother with Daughters*(?) depicts Saint Anne educating the Virgin, but the figures might instead represent Mathematics and Grammar.
6. Biblioteca Ambrosiana, F214, fol. 20; Fiocco 1950, pl. 42, fig. 15; Fossi Todorow 1970, pl. 24 and commentary.
7. British Museum, 1895.9.15.788; Fossi Todorow 1970, nos. 32, 33. Fiocco (1950, p. 59, pl. 40, figs. 11, 12) hypothesized that these drawings might have been studies for the Evangelists in the Rama Chapel, which were painted by Stefano about 1420–30 and were destroyed in 1944.
8. Fiocco 1950, p. 58, pl. 36, figs. 3, 4.
9. Albertina, 24016 (also from the Calceolari-Moscardo collections); Stix and Fröhlich-Bum 1926, no. 5; Fiocco 1950, pl. 46, figs. 20, 21; Verona 1958, no. 41; Koschatzky, Oberhuber, and Knab 1972, no. 4.
10. Albertina, 24014; Stix and Fröhlich-Bum 1926, no. 3; Verona 1958, no. 46.
11. Fondation Custodia, 4147; Byam Shaw 1983, no. 195.
12. Byam Shaw 1983, nos. 193–202.
13. Van Marle 1923–38, vol. 7, ill. opposite p. 282.
14. The name appears on three other drawings from the Calceolari-Moscardo collections that are attributed to Stefano: *Stefano Falconeto* is written on the *Birth of the Virgin* (Albertina, 24015; Stix and Fröhlich-Bum 1926, no.



Fig. 2.3 Attributed to Stefano da Verona, *Four Mounted Knights Fighting*. Fondation Custodia (Collection Frits Lugt), Institut Néerlandais, Paris

6), *di mano di falconeto* on *Hope* (Lugt collection; Byam Shaw 1983, no. 194), and *Aô* (or *Giô*) *Maria Falconeto* on *Samson Killing the Lion* (Lugt collection; Byam Shaw 1983, no. 198). *Stefano Falconeto* also appears on No. 6, here attributed to an anonymous Veronese, and on a study for a lunette, with the Madonna and Child and saints, that Byam Shaw (1983, no. 208) attributed to the school of Verona, second half of the fifteenth century; both of these drawings also come from the Calceolari-Moscardo collections. The *Flagellation* (recto) and *Thomas à Becket* (verso), with the same provenance and attributed to Stefano (Albertina, 24013; Stix and Fröhlich-Bum 1926, no. 4; Verona 1958, no. 42), bears the annotation *da man di Stefano*.

15. Fiocco 1950, p. 61; Byam Shaw 1983, pp. 196, 198, 201, under nos. 193, 194, 198, citing Vasari (1568) 1878–85, vol. 3, p. 628, and Degenhart 1937.
16. Fiocco 1950, p. 61: “vena minore, più gretta, più puntita, legata alla realtà da un lato e dall’altro incapace di eccitarla e di farne una grafia viva, e tanto in contrasto con quella lirica e stupendamente fluente.”
17. Uffizi, 59F; Florence 1978, no. 59.
18. Fondation Custodia, 1339, 1338; Byam Shaw 1983, nos. 198, 199. As Byam Shaw points out, *Samson Killing the Lion* corresponds to a drawing in Munich (Graphische Sammlung, 1971.10; Schmitt 1974, p. 239, fig. 1), and there

is another *Samson and the Philistine* in Paris (Louvre, RF1870.00.844; photograph Braun 63459).

19. Fondation Custodia, 1345; Byam Shaw 1983, no. 196, with the same subject as the *Battle* on the verso of the *Angel* in the Albertina (see note 9 above). Although Italian scholars have not considered this Lugt sheet one of the group of drawings securely attributed to Stefano, the drawing is decidedly vivid, and the inscription *Stefanus* makes it a valid autograph useful in linking Stefano’s name not only to the more sophisticated drawings but also to some, such as Nos. 2 and 3, in which the linework is somewhat heavier and more emphatic.
20. The only other drawing ascribed to Stefano that has an analogous spatial presentation, with a stretch of terrain indicated in much the same way as here, is *A Young Woman and Her Lover* (Fig. 4.1) in the Lugt collection (Fondation Custodia, 1337; Fiocco 1950, pl. 44, fig. 18 [as “Stefano da Verona(?)”]; Byam Shaw 1983, no. 193). That drawing, which has often been attributed to Pisanello as well as to Stefano, also comes from the Calceolari and Moscardo collections, and it bears a long annotation in handwriting analogous to that on this drawing and on Nos. 3, 5, and 6.
21. Béguin in Paris 1957, no. 127.
22. Szabo 1983, no. 3, referring to Weisbach 1942.
23. In the catalogue for the Grassi sale the objects above the shield were also called flowers.

PROVENANCE: Francesco Calceolari (or Calzolari), Verona; Conte Lodovico Moscardo, Verona; acquired from the Moscardo family in 1905 by Luigi Grassi, Florence (Lugt Suppl. 1171b); Frits Lugt, Paris; Grassi sale 1924, lot 116, ill. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1924.

EXHIBITED: Northampton (Mass.) 1942–44; Paris 1957, no. 127; Cincinnati 1959, no. 193, ill.; New Haven 1960, no. 151, ill.; New York 1978, no. 3, ill.

LITERATURE: Degenhart 1954, p. 106, fig. 110; Lugt 1956, p. 171, under 1171b; Venice 1957, p. 13; Steenbock 1966, p. 14; Szabo 1975, p. 103, pl. 172; Florence 1978, p. 54; Hibbard 1980, p. 229, fig. 395; Venice 1981, under no. 7; Byam Shaw 1983, under nos. 193 (n. 4), 199; Szabo 1983, no. 3, ill.



No. 3

Stefano da Verona(?)

3. Seated Man with a Book and a Scroll

1975.1.262

Pen and brown ink. 293 x 176 mm. Annotated in pen and ink in a late fifteenth-century hand on the scroll: *Vē avisando ben gardado nota bene* (He proclaims a precept it is well to observe); on the book: *Di piaxere a dio piaxer ti sia* (May it give you pleasure to please God).¹

This sheet is one of six drawings from the old Veronese Calceolari and Moscardo collections that Robert Lehman acquired at the Grassi sale in 1924 (see No. 2). That it also belongs to the group of sheets generally but not universally attributed to Stefano da Verona is obvious when it is compared with three other drawings in that group, all in the Lugt collection, that are absolutely similar in theme, style, and technique: *The Prophet Daniel*; *Saint Mark (Saint Jerome?) at His Desk*, *the Lion at His Feet*; and *Saint John the Evangelist, Writing at His Desk*, *the Eagle at His Feet* (Figs. 3.1–3.3).² In addition, all three bear old annotations, which serve almost as captions, in handwriting analogous to that on our sheet.³ Van Marle, in 1926, ascribed the *Saint John*, the *Prophet Daniel*, and our drawing to the Lombard school, about 1400, but in 1937 Degenhart attributed all three of the Lugt drawings to Stefano da Verona.⁴ When Byam Shaw discussed these same three drawings in 1983 he confirmed the attribution to Stefano and said as well that he believed our drawing to be by the same hand. As he put it, referring to the *Saint John*, “the style of drawing is surely that of Stefano da Verona, showing the same mannerism of hatched shading against the contours of the figure that appears in several other drawings by that master, and the same graceful lines and open shading in the drapery.”⁵ The way the figure’s profile is delineated and the flowing lines of the hair are also similar in all four drawings.

In both *The Prophet Daniel* and our drawing the setting is unfinished: Daniel holds a long scroll and dips his pen into an inkwell, but he has no chair to sit on; our figure too is seated in a void, and the large scroll simply floats at his side. Indeed, the uncertainty about the position of the left hand, the unsteadiness of the book, and the vagueness of the scroll’s outlines make this the weakest point in our drawing. Other drawings in the larger group assigned to Stefano show similar uncertainties in perspective, which can be explained by the Gothic artist’s scant interest in that aspect of his compositions. True, compared with the sheets most securely attributed to Stefano, such as those in the Uffizi and the *Evangelists* in

the British Museum,⁶ ours is somewhat more awkward and some of the linework is not as strong, incisive, or fluent, but this could be ascribed (as Degenhart did in the case of the *Saint Mark* and *Saint John*)⁷ to its being of an early date, by an artist still unsure of his drawing technique. In other respects, this study is certainly connected with autograph drawings by Stefano. The well-defined face with its intense expression resembles those of the Albertina *Three Prophets* (Fig. 2.1), the right hand is conceived like that of the Albertina *Angel*,⁸ and the similarity of the drawing as a whole to the Lugt *Saint Mark*, which is the verso of a sheet with an unquestionably autograph study of the Fiery Furnace, is such as to rank our drawing autograph as well.

The figure depicted here is probably a prophet, as Szabo believed.⁹ But the words written in a fifteenth-century



Fig. 3.1 Attributed to Stefano da Verona, *The Prophet Daniel*. Fondation Custodia (Collection Frits Lugt), Institut Néerlandais, Paris



Fig. 3.2 Attributed to Stefano da Verona, *Saint Mark (Saint Jerome?) at His Desk, the Lion at His Feet*. Fondation Custodia (Collection Frits Lugt), Institut Néerlandais, Paris

hand on the scroll and the book are of a discursive character and do not appear to refer to any sacred text that would make it easier to identify him. The strange crownlike shape of his headgear might suggest David in his prophetic guise, and that one of the companion drawings portrays Daniel might confirm that hypothesis. Van Marle, however, suggested that this might be a Father of the Church, and if the figure in the Lugt collection drawing were Saint Jerome rather than Saint Mark, this conjecture too might prove valid. All four of these drawings could be either studies that were ends in themselves or exempla from a sketchbook (their dimensions are similar), but it is more probable that they were ideas for a pictorial cycle not known to us.

NOTES:

1. In a letter of April 3, 1978 (Robert Lehman Collection files), Szabo thanks R. A. Goldthwaite of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, for having read the writing on this work and on No. 5. But Szabo's interpretation (in New York 1978) of the annotations as *Uernisando ben zondado nota bene* and



Fig. 3.3 Attributed to Stefano da Verona, *Saint John the Evangelist, Writing at His Desk, the Eagle at His Feet*. Fondation Custodia (Collection Frits Lugt), Institut Néerlandais, Paris

dipinxere adio pinxer tisin is not convincing because certain words, such as *zondado*, make no sense at all and others, like *vernisando* and *pinxere*, would make sense only as instructions to a painter (such as are indeed sometimes found on old drawings) and are in no way connected with a prophet. Instead, I believe that the reading given here, arrived at with the kind assistance of Angela Bussi Dillon and Mario Vicario of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, is more in keeping with both the subject of the drawing and the writing itself. The script is Gothic, of the close of the fifteenth century, and many letters and words are typical of the Veneto. Whereas the words inscribed on the book are clear, the writing on the scroll presents problems. If it is read, as I believe it should be, as *Vē avisando ben gardado nota bene*, it can be interpreted as *Vien avisando [un] ben guardato nota bene*, with *avisando* understood as *divulgando* in modern Italian and *ben guardato* as *osservato*, and with *nota bene* signifying not an admonishment but a noun meaning *precetto* or *avvertimento* and thus alluding to the writing on the book the figure holds on his lap.

2. Paris, Fondation Custodia, 1349, 1342, 1340; Byam Shaw 1983, nos. 202, 197, 201.
3. The words *i fornaçen ignis Ardentis* are written above the furnace doors in the study *The Fiery Furnace* on the recto of

the *Saint Mark*; on both recto and verso there is an old inscription, *Questo disegno fo de felipo* (this drawing was of Filippo), which also appears on the verso of *The Prophet Daniel* and on three other Lugt collection drawings: *The Coronation of the Virgin*, *Four Mounted Knights Fighting* (Fig. 2.3), and *Samson and the Philistine* (Byam Shaw 1983, nos. 195, 196, 199). The *Saint John* is inscribed, or annotated, *S Joanes evangelista* at the upper left and has a longer inscription at the lower right; the first words of the Gospel of Saint John are written on the book. *Daniel pñā* is written at the top of the *Prophet Daniel*, and the prophet's scroll bears a longer inscription.

4. Van Marle 1923–38, vol. 7, pp. 121–22, fig. 79; Degenhart 1937, p. 528.
5. Byam Shaw 1983, no. 201.
6. See No. 2, notes 5, 7.
7. Degenhart 1937, p. 528.
8. See No. 2, notes 9, 10.
9. Szabo in New York 1978, no. 7.

PROVENANCE: Francesco Calceolari (or Calzolari), Verona; Conte Lodovico Moscardo, Verona; acquired from the Moscardo family in 1905 by Luigi Grassi, Florence (Lugt Suppl. 1171b); Frits Lugt, Paris; Grassi sale 1924, lot 114, ill. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1924.

EXHIBITED: Northampton (Mass.) 1942–44; New York 1978, no. 7, ill.

LITERATURE: Van Marle 1923–38, vol. 7, p. 122; Lugt 1956, p. 171, under 1171b; Venice 1981, under no. 9; Byam Shaw 1983, under nos. 193 (n. 4), 201.

Follower of Stefano da Verona

4. The Madonna and Child with a Female Martyr Saint, a Bishop Saint, and a Female Donor

1975.I.252

Pen and dark brown ink, brush and gray ink. 239 x 191 mm. Irregular left and upper edges; red and brown stains; tear at right edge restored. Watermark: dragon.

Verso: At the top, an indecipherable sketch in black chalk; below, an annotation in pencil in a modern hand: *Gentile da Fabriano*.

In provenance, technique, and typology this drawing belongs to the group discussed under No. 2. In 1937 Degenhart attributed it to Stefano da Verona as a youthful work, and he was followed in this by Szabo in 1983, even though doubts had been raised meanwhile as to the autograph nature of the drawing. (The catalogues of the 1957 and 1959 exhibitions merely indicated it was a work of the Veronese school of the early fifteenth century.) In fact, as early as 1924 the Grassi sale catalogue had called the drawing simply “early North Italian school,” and it was accepted as such by Berenson in his notes to that catalogue and was so cited by Lugt in 1956.¹

Morellian comparisons of detail to Stefano's work can be misleading, and here the resemblance is limited to single words, as it were. Although this drawing diligently repeats Stefano's vocabulary, the words are not linked into a coherent discourse, as they are in Stefano's autograph works, even in those, such as the sheets in the Lugt collection, that are contested by certain critics. Among the Lugt sheets, for example, it suffices to compare the hand of the girl in *A Young Woman and Her Lover* (Fig. 4.1) with that of the bishop in this drawing to observe a profound falling-off in quality. Or compare the profile of the donor on our sheet with that of the same girl (the folds of whose sleeve, however, were adopted here), or with the sketchy profiles in the *Coronation of the Virgin* or *Hope*.² One may also compare the bishop's head with those of the Albertina *Three Prophets* (Fig. 2.1)³ or, even more telling, the folds of the mantles here with those of the prophets or figures in other drawings in the Lugt collection.⁴

Such comparisons show how in the present drawing separate elements are repeated faithfully at times, but as adjuncts to figures that do not act on their own and that block each other awkwardly in space. A typical example of this compositional incoherence is seen in the Madonna's mantle, which overlaps that of the bishop and therefore puts him into a remoter plane. The martyr saint and the



No. 4

female donor are, as is normal, in the foreground, which, however, is inexplicably occupied by the lower folds of the bishop's mantle as well. Not even in the most tentatively attributed drawings of the group given to Stefano does one find such purely mechanical treatment, which becomes even more obvious in the figures of the Madonna and Child. The Madonna's neck does not emerge from the mantle covering her shoulders, nor can it support the curve of the veil on the overlarge head. In the Child no attempt was made to reproduce Stefano's Lombard typology: it is a mere puppet with an expressionless face. The *Madonna and Child* in the Lugt collection affords an obvious contrast and standard, though it is itself one of the most schematic drawings in the group and not exempt from doubts.

The question that remains is whether this drawing is a copy of a lost and poorly understood original by Stefano or a compositional idea by some not very competent pupil

who was attempting to put the master's "words" into a composition of his own. There is no trace, however, of any such composition in any painting known to us that might bear out the latter supposition.

Because the two saints carry no attributes except the generic martyr's palm it is not possible to identify them beyond establishing that the male saint, with his crosier and miter, is a bishop. The female saint is no doubt the donor's namesake. Unless some fortunate discovery is made, one cannot even guess whether this composition might have been created for a fresco or, what is more likely, for a panel for a private patron.

NOTES:

1. A note in the Robert Lehman files, however, indicates that at some point Berenson ascribed the drawing to "Stefano da Zevio."
2. Paris, Fondation Custodia, 1337, 4147, 1343; Byam Shaw 1983, nos. 193, 195, 194.
3. Albertina, 24014; Stix and Fröhlich-Bum 1926, no. 6; Verona 1958, no. 46.
4. The *Madonna and Child*, *Saint John the Evangelist*, *Prophet Daniel* (Figs. 3.1, 3.3), and especially *Hope* and *The Coronation of the Virgin* (Byam Shaw 1983, nos. 200–202, 194, 195).

PROVENANCE: Francesco Calceolari (or Calzolari), Verona; Conte Lodovico Moscardo, Verona; acquired from the Moscardo family in 1905 by Luigi Grassi, Florence (Lugt Suppl. 1171b); Frits Lugt, Paris; Grassi sale 1924, lot 115, ill. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1924.

EXHIBITED: Northampton (Mass.) 1942–44; Paris 1957, no. 113; Cincinnati 1959, no. 195, ill.; New York 1978, no. 4, ill.

LITERATURE: Degenhart 1937, p. 528; Lugt 1956, p. 171, under 1171b; Szabo 1983, no. 4, ill.



Fig. 4.1 Attributed to Stefano da Verona, *A Young Woman and Her Lover*. Fondation Custodia (Collection Frits Lugt), Institut Néerlandais, Paris

Follower of Stefano da Verona

5. A Man Asleep Alongside a Dog and a Horse

1975.I.401

Pen and brown ink on brownish paper. 245 x 193 mm. Right edge irregular and made up; left corners cut; upper left corner made up with a fragment of an old drawing depicting a hand, then cut again. Annotated in pen and brown ink at the lower center in a fifteenth-century hand: *Ripossate p[er] la fadiga chaeu ffato* (for *Riposate per la fatica che avete fatto*, or Take your rest after the effort you have made).

The provenance of this sheet, one of the group of Veronese drawings from the old Calceolari and Moscardo collections (see No. 2), lends it particular historical interest. For all its modest quality, it is notable as well for its rare iconography. The drawing depicts a scene from everyday life such as those that often appear in art of the International Gothic style from Lombardy and the Veneto, but usually only as details of secondary importance in paintings or miniatures and only rarely as independent themes in drawings. There is additional interest in the fact that, as Szabo recognized in 1981, the pose and perspective of the horse were inspired by the famous horses on the facade of San Marco in Venice (see Fig. 8.1), which our anonymous Veronese artist could have known either firsthand or through drawn or painted copies.

The crude workmanship and lack of spatial relations between the three components suggest that this may have been a rapid notation in a sketchbook rather than a study for a composition. Or, as is probably the case with No. 4, it may be a copy of some detail in a painting or of a drawing by some more accomplished master. Either the copyist or, more likely, the early collector may have added the curious annotation.¹ The physiognomy and the hatched shading on the contours would appear to be modeled after examples by Stefano da Verona, but in a less ponderous and pedantically literal manner than in No. 4. This drawing may be of a slightly later date, toward mid-century. In any event, since it first appeared in the Grassi sale in 1924 as "early Veronese school," it has always been assigned to the Veronese world.²

NOTES:

1. The handwriting is similar to that found on other drawings from the Calceolari-Moscardo collections, even though they are clearly by different artists, which would confirm the supposition that the annotations were made by an early collector, perhaps the Falconetto discussed in No. 2. See also Nos. 3 and 6 and Byam Shaw 1983, under nos. 193, 208.

2. The drawing was shown as Veronese school of the early fifteenth century in Paris in 1957 and in New York in 1978, but in Cincinnati in 1959 it was attributed to the school of Pisanello. It is under Pisanello that the photograph is classed in the Berenson library at the Harvard Center for Renaissance Studies at Villa I Tatti, Florence, although with the annotation "Veronese ca. 1440." The photograph is also annotated "sold to Albertina." Lugt exchanged some of the drawings he bought from Grassi in 1923 with the Albertina (see No. 2, note 1), but there is no other evidence that this Lehman drawing was ever in Vienna.

PROVENANCE: Francesco Calceolari (or Calzolari), Verona; Conte Lodovico Moscardo, Verona; acquired from the Moscardo family in 1905 by Luigi Grassi, Florence (Lugt Suppl. 1171b); Frits Lugt, Paris; Grassi sale 1924, lot 117. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1924.

EXHIBITED: Poughkeepsie 1942-44; Paris 1957, no. 114; Cincinnati 1959, no. 199; New York 1968, no. 15; New York 1978, no. 5, ill.

LITERATURE: Szabo 1981, pp. 36-37, fig. 6; Szabo 1983, fig. 40.



No. 5

Verona

Mid-fifteenth century

6. Seated Female Figure Holding a Book and a Scroll(?)

1975.1.261

Pen and dark brown ink, over black chalk. 144 x 121 mm. Irregular left edge; upper right corner, horizontal tear at center right, and lower edge made up with old paper from a drawing in pen and brown ink that is annotated on the verso (visible at upper right of recto of large drawing): *di ma* . . . Annotated in pen and brown ink on the verso in a fifteenth- or sixteenth-century hand: *Stefano falconeto*.

It is strange that a drawing as fine and finished as this should have remained almost unknown except for Szabo's summary description in the catalogue of the exhibition held in New York in 1978. This sheet is part of the group that Robert Lehman acquired at the Grassi sale in 1924, as is documented by the collector's mark, although identifying it in the catalogue is difficult.¹ Of considerable interest is the writing, not previously remarked, on the

verso in a fifteenth- or sixteenth-century hand, which links this drawing with certainty to others from the Veronese Calceolari and Moscardo collections (see No. 2). *Stefano falconeto* probably alludes to an earlier owner of those drawings.² As is apparent from the reconstruction (Fig. 6.1), the style of the drawing that was used to back our sheet also provides a link to the group of drawings from the Calceolari-Moscardo collections that have been attributed to Stefano da Verona.

There is rather less evidence to connect the drawing on the recto with the attribution to Stefano da Verona. If the flowing drapery recalls Stefano's *Charity* in the Uffizi, Florence,³ and the *Hope* in the Lugt collection, Paris,⁴ the penwork here is more supple and the linework less scratchy. The soft markings, produced with a thick pen, resemble the pointillistic effect created by a brush used



No. 6, verso



Fig. 6.1 Rearrangement of fragments used to make up No. 6



No. 6

in the Lombard manner, a technique associated more with the circle of Giovannino de' Grassi than with Stefano himself. One might consider an artist imbued with Lombard concepts were it not for the small head and the curls hugging the sides of the neck, precisely as in Stefano's *Charity* and in the *Saint Agnes* and *Saint Barbara* by an anonymous Veronese, perhaps Giovanni Badile, in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.⁵ The controlled richness of the drapery and the solemnity of the high-waisted, almost sculptural figure have a classical tone that is also much more Veronese than Lombard, suggesting a very

early phase of the Veronese style still reflecting Altichiero's influence. Yet the highly pictorial treatment seems already touched by the example of Pisanello, as are the *Female Saint* in the Albertina,⁶ which has been attributed to Stefano, to Pisanello, and to an anonymous Veronese; and the *Abundance* in the Codex Vallardi in the Louvre, which is perhaps from a Lombard hand.⁷ The pose of the figure in the Louvre drawing resembles that of our figure. Although the same pose is often found in International Gothic paintings, its origin is obviously classical and sculptural.



No. 7

For Szabo this drawing's theme is an allegory not further defined.⁸ But the book resting on her left knee and the long, thin object that appears to be a scroll (and probably extended above where the sheet has been trimmed) in her right hand would seem to indicate that the figure is a Sibyl.

NOTES:

1. None of the descriptions of drawings in the Grassi sale catalogue appear to correspond exactly to No. 6. Lot 118, "Christ Seated in the Act of Blessing," however, may have been No. 6; the measurements correspond. The description of lot 152, "A Draped Female Figure, with hands uplifted," fits No. 7, and the dimensions given in the catalogue correspond to those of No. 7. See No. 2, note 1.
2. See No. 2, note 14.
3. Uffizi, 1101E; Florence 1978, no. 54.
4. Fondation Custodia, 1343; Byam Shaw 1983, no. 194.
5. Rijksmuseum, 1960.38, 1960.39; Venice–Florence 1985, nos. 4, 5. These drawings come from the early Veronese collection of Antonio II Badile (1424–ca. 1507), son of Giovanni Badile, who was a follower of Stefano da Verona, and they may also have belonged to Conte Lodovico Moscardo (see Byam Shaw 1983, p. 214, n. 1, under no. 213).
6. Albertina, 4834; Fossi Todorow 1966, no. 258.
7. Louvre, 2542v; *ibid.*, no. 199.
8. Szabo in New York 1978, no. 8.

PROVENANCE: Francesco Calceolari (or Calzolari), Verona; Conte Lodovico Moscardo, Verona; acquired from the Moscardo family in 1905 by Luigi Grassi, Florence (Lugt Suppl. 1171b); Frits Lugt, Paris; Grassi sale 1924, lot 118(?). Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1924.

EXHIBITED: Northampton (Mass.) 1942–44; New York 1978, no. 8, ill.

Verona

Mid-fifteenth century

7. Seated Female Figure with Upraised Arms, Facing Right

1975.I.260

Pen and brown ink, over traces of black chalk. 173 x 118 mm. Watermark (inverted): three mountains.

As regards its history and critical assessment (virtually none, to be precise), as well as its theme and style, this sheet is associated with No. 6. The drawing here is somewhat inferior, however, and the penwork less skillful. The artist also had considerable difficulty placing the figure

on her unsteady stool, and there is a certain coarseness in the facial features and hands. The suggestion of movement in the hands and the rather schematic treatment of the shadows and swirls of drapery relate this sheet more to the group of drawings in the Lugt collection, Paris, that have been attributed to Stefano da Verona or to the Veronese school,¹ although this penwork, slenderer and more painterly, more in the Lombard manner, does seem to be of a later date.² The woman's hairstyle and the Gothic treatment of the ample folds of the drapery, which is not without classical overtones, would also seem to indicate that this drawing dates to about the mid-1400s.³

In the absence of attributes or setting the figure's gesture strikes one as somewhat strange. She could be a Virtue (Hope is often shown with upraised arms) or a Sibyl receiving inspiration, but then again what we see here may be no more than a detail in a domestic scene, perhaps a mother or a nurse picking up an infant, such as one often finds in depictions of the birth of the Virgin or the birth of Saint John.

NOTES:

1. See especially the *Hope* and *Madonna and Child* (Fondation Custodia, 1343, 1341; Byam Shaw 1983, nos. 194, 200), both attributed to Stefano, as well as the sheet of studies with a half-length figure of Christ on the verso and the *Saint Jerome in the Desert*, both attributed to the school of Verona (Fondation Custodia, 1334, 1344; *ibid.*, nos. 206, 211). See also the drawings in the Lugt collection cited under Nos. 2–6.
2. It is significant that in the Berenson photograph files at the Harvard Center for Renaissance Studies at Villa I Tatti, Florence, the drawing is classified as "Pisanello school."
3. Rather than to the start of the century, as Szabo proposed in the catalogue of the exhibition held in New York in 1978.

PROVENANCE: Francesco Calceolari (or Calzolari), Verona; Conte Lodovico Moscardo, Verona; acquired from the Moscardo family in 1905 by Luigi Grassi, Florence (Lugt Suppl. 1171b); Frits Lugt, Paris; Grassi sale 1924, lot 152(?; see No. 6). Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1924.

EXHIBITED: Northampton (Mass.) 1942–44; New York 1978, no. 6, ill.

The Veneto

Second quarter of the fifteenth century

8. A Warrior on Horseback

1975.I.330

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over black chalk. 205 x 145 mm. Small tears along the edges. Annotated in pencil at the lower left in a modern hand: *Giambono*; annotated on the verso in black chalk: 16.

Since its first appearance in 1924 at the Grassi sale, this drawing has on several occasions been exhibited or cited in the literature under the name of Michele Giambono. The attribution, as rare as it is prestigious, is easy to understand, for at first glance one is struck by the similarity of this equestrian figure to the *Saint Chrysogonus* frescoed by Giambono about the middle of the fifteenth century in the church of San Trovaso, Venice,¹ a compositional affinity first remarked by Van Marle in 1926. Nonetheless, the many differences between the two figures – in the points of view, the poses of the horse and rider, and the accessories – make the resemblance more apparent than real. And it becomes decidedly less convincing when one observes the difference in quality between the stern but attractive and elegant horseman in the fresco and the uncertain, vacillating group in the drawing. The weakness in the basic disposition and form of this horse,

frozen in perilous equilibrium, results in an absurd dilatation of its head, and the rider, with his slender shoulders and inflexible leg, is not so much clad in as flattened under the pieces of his armor. And the structural weakness is exacerbated by the lack of setting and chiaroscuro effect. Rather than helping to define the forms or suggest any sort of space, the bland wash treatment just barely follows the figures' contours, affecting only the surface of the drawing.

No stylistic connection exists, therefore, between our sheet and the few other drawings more or less plausibly attributable to Giambono.² Those drawings correspond much more closely than does ours to the particular bent of Giambono's paintings, and the broken outlines and the hatching used to define the shadows within the figures are more in keeping with the Venetian and Veronese graphic formulas of the time. (Compare, for example,



Fig. 8.1 The Horses of San Marco, Venice. Photograph: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *The Horses of San Marco, Venice* (Milan and New York: Olivetti, 1979), fig. 1



No. 8

Nos. 2–5, by Stefano da Verona and his circle.) Furthermore, the modulated Gothic rhythms of the Venetian and Veronese style, conspicuous in authentic drawings by Giambono (see No. 10), are entirely absent here.

Although the lack of Gothic traits in this drawing and the (not very successful) attempt to apply foreshortening to the group might indicate an artist already aware of Renaissance theories of perspective, the rider's armor would seem to contradict a dating later than the first half of the fifteenth century. Lionello Boccia has graciously advised me that the armor is completely authentic and datable in the Venetian area not much beyond 1435. The form of the right *pauldron* (the armor covering the shoulder) and that of the reinforcing plate covering the left *pauldron*; the short, rounded cuff of the gauntlet; the short, almost square form of the *tassets* (the plates suspended from the base of the waist plates); and the shapes of the knee piece and greaves, among other details, support such a date. The vague perspective of the drawing as a whole must derive less from suggestions from Renaissance paintings than from the desire to reproduce some three-dimensional model. There is thus much to be said for Szabo's hypothesis that the horse is likely to have been inspired by the second horse from the left in the sculpture on the facade of San Marco in Venice (Fig. 8.1).³ Our inexpert draftsman's attempt to imitate the large sculpted horse, which can be viewed only from a distance, may explain the abnormal relation between the head and neck and the problematic position of the rear hooves. The drawing as a whole has the look of a copy, and the mental dichotomy evinced by the compositional awkwardness on the one hand and the absolute adherence to reality in depicting the armor on the other could also suggest that this is the work of a copyist rather than an artist conceiving the figure firsthand.

The Tietzes have already expressed considerable reservation about the attribution to Giambono of this and a drawing in the Lugt collection, Paris,⁴ that has in the past also been related to Giambono's *Saint Chrysogonus*. Land, Pignatti, Pesaro, and (if one reads between the lines) Byam Shaw all had similar doubts. That some alternative name for the author of this drawing will present itself is extremely improbable. Even though a Veronese origin would seem to be indicated by the Pisanello-like horseman, with his casque of curly hair and mantlelike scalloped sleeves, the characteristic elements of Veronese drawing are not in evidence here.⁵ For these reasons a generic reference to an artist of the Veneto seems prudent and at the same time leaves room for a broader spectrum of possible identifications.

NOTES:

1. Van Marle 1923–38, vol. 7, fig. 248; Berenson 1957, p. 82, fig. 47.
2. See the works cited under No. 10, especially *The Archangel Michael and a Monastic Saint* (No. 10, note 2), *Mary Magdalene* (No. 10, note 5), and *Bust of a Youth* (No. 10, note 7). See also Land 1974, nos. 81ff., and Pesaro 1977–78, pp. 26–28.
3. Szabo 1983, no. 9. The San Marco horses have also been adduced in connection with Giambono's *Saint Chrysogonus*, and Szabo showed no hesitation in attributing this drawing to him.
4. *A Warrior on Horseback, Representing Mars Victor or the Constellation Orion* (Fondation Custodia, 1350; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 700; Byam Shaw 1983, no. 209), from the Calceolari-Moscardo collections (see No. 2). Although the Tietzes listed this drawing under the name of Giambono, they had considerable doubt that it is a Giambono autograph. Byam Shaw has decisively rejected the suggestion and instead attributes the drawing, with some hesitation, to Felice Feliciano da Verona.
5. A Veronese origin might also have been suggested by this drawing's supposed provenance from the Calceolari-Moscardo collections, which was mentioned for the first time in Szabo 1983, no. 9, but that information is contradicted by the evidence Byam Shaw gathered (see No. 2, note 1).

PROVENANCE: Luigi Grassi, Florence (Lugt Suppl. 1171b); Frits Lugt, Paris; Grassi sale 1924, lot 81, ill. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1924(?).

EXHIBITED: Buffalo 1935, no. 7, ill.; Northampton (Mass.) 1942–44; Paris 1957, no. 101; Cincinnati 1959, no. 200, ill.; New York 1978, no. 14, ill.

LITERATURE: Van Marle 1923–38, vol. 7, p. 376; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 701, pl. 1,1; Lugt 1956, p. 171, under 1171b; Réau 1958, p. 314; Land 1974, no. 82, pl. 94; Pignatti in Washington, D.C.—Fort Worth—Saint Louis 1974–75, under no. 1; Pesaro 1977–78, no. 30; Szabo 1981, pp. 34–35, fig. 1; Venice 1981, under no. 17; Byam Shaw 1983, n. 2 under no. 209; Szabo 1983, no. 9, ill.; Florisoon n.d., p. 23, fig. 1.

Michelino da Besozzo

Documented Pavia 1388–1450

Little is known about the formative years or early career of Michelino da Besozzo, who is first documented in Pavia in 1388 painting frescoes in San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro and an altarpiece for San Mustiola. In 1404 Michelino is cited in the *Annali della Fabbrica* of Milan Cathedral with the epithet “*summus in arte pictorica et disegnamenti*” (most excellent in the arts of painting and design). Documents also attest that in 1410 he was in Venice, where he would surely have been in contact with Gentile da Fabriano, and that between 1418 and 1425 he was once again in Milan.

One of the most highly regarded artists of his time and enormously influential throughout Lombardy and the Veneto, Michelino was equally renowned as a painter, draftsman, designer of stained glass, and miniaturist. He is most admired today for his manuscript illuminations, from those he did in 1403 for the funeral eulogy of Gian Galeazzo Visconti, which are now in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, to those in the *Book of Hours* now in the *Bibliothèque Communale*, Avignon. The elegant refinement of Michelino's line and color, not without traces of French or Rhenish influence, shows a lightness of touch that led Longhi to describe him as “the Watteau of the International Gothic.”

In spite of the abundant evidence of Michelino's prolific activity as a draftsman, few drawings can be assigned to him with certainty. Just as scarce are documentary references to his paintings. His oeuvre has been reconstructed particularly around the signed *Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine* (Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena), probably painted about 1420, and the closely related *Marriage of the Virgin* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 43.98.7). Michelino's illuminations offer a clue to his drawing style, but he was also celebrated among his contemporaries for his highly naturalistic animal studies drawn from life. Some of these studies are still confused with those attributed to Pisanello and his school.

Circle of Michelino da Besozzo

9. A Gazelle in Profile, Moving Toward the Right

1975.I.402

Tip of the brush and brown, gray (both in various shades), and black ink; contours with metalpoint (? or black chalk?); touches of white chalk; brown and light brownish gray wash; on vellum. 91 x 106 mm. Laid down. Right bottom corner made up.

To have to leave unidentified the author of a drawing of such perfection is regrettable, but that is a fate common to many drawings, even some very beautiful ones, of such early date and in so many-faceted and widespread a style as the International Gothic. This sheet is unquestionably a product of the International Gothic, but the names proposed so far for its author are by no means convincing. It is certainly not by Gentile Bellini, to whom Martin ascribed it in 1910, when it was part of his collection.¹ Martin suggested that it could be compared with another drawing in his collection, of a rabbit, that like our sheet had come to him in a mount of Persian origin seemingly pertinent to Gentile and his taste for the oriental. Berenson considered Pisanello, the name under which Frankfurter published the sheet in 1939² and under which it has often been exhibited.³ The attribution does not stand up to comparisons with the many secure drawings by Pisanello, but that it could have held its own for so long is understandable considering how very many drawings of animals, whether exotic or domestic, executed in the same technique and no less lifelike and elegant than this, have been indiscriminately ascribed to that artist.

It was Degenhart, in 1940, who first rejected Pisanello as the author of our drawing because of certain traits, such as the cast shadows beneath the hooves, that he considered anomalous to the Veronese artist's style and because he found in it Lombard elements that relate it to numerous sheets in the *Codex Vallardi* now in the Louvre, Paris.⁴ This gazelle does lack the nervous mischievousness of Pisanello's animals and evinces instead the delicate naturalism of the animals Longhi described as “drawn as if according to the lie of the fur, . . . enveloped in a fine, luminescent, ‘pointillistic’ dust almost as in a Seurat,”⁵ more typical of a Giovannino de' Grassi or a Michelino da Besozzo.

When he was still a very young child (which would have been in the 1370s), Michelino da Besozzo was al-

ready drawing animals with great mastery. Or so Umberto Decembrio declared at the beginning of the fifteenth century that he had seen with his own eyes. According to Marcantonio Michiel (the so-called Anonimo Morelliano), in the sixteenth century Gabriele Vendramin owned “a little book in quarto bound in goatskin with animals colored by the hand of Michelino of Milan.”⁶ During the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries Michelino left the mark of his refined style not only in Lombardy but also in Verona and Venice. His name has been proposed with some assurance by Fossi Todorow in connection with this and other equally extraordinary drawings – indeed, more miniatures than drawings – most of which are from the Codex Vallardi and perhaps originally belonged to one or more sketchbooks of bestiaries. Such miniaturelike drawings are often still erroneously attributed to Pisanello, even though, as Fossi Todorow has said, Pisanello had radically transformed their character, “abandoning ‘repertorial naturalism’ in favor of making a collection of drawings done for the first time from life.”⁷ Our gazelle (which Szabo has identified as a *Gazella thomsoni* native to East Africa), so minutely, even scientifically delineated, appears to have been drawn not from life but from exempla either painted or drawn. Among the drawings closest to this in theme, technique, and quality are not only numerous examples in the Codex Vallardi (see Fig. 9.1)⁸ but also the *Two Stag Heads* in the Albertina, Vienna, which seems to be the only such drawing known so far that can be assigned with certainty to Michelino da Besozzo.⁹ Like those, our draw-



Fig. 9.1 Michelino da Besozzo(?), *A Deer Facing Right* (from the Codex Vallardi). Musée du Louvre, Paris. Photograph: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, Paris

ing should be dated to the first decades of the fifteenth century, or well before the time of Gentile Bellini and his curiosity about exotic animals, which would reveal itself only later in the century in Venice, in the wake of such interest on the part of Lombard and Veronese artists.

NOTES:

1. In 1946 (p. 189) Tietze-Conrat wrote that “Gentile Bellini may have become acquainted with such African gazelles during his stay in Constantinople, if Martin is right in ascribing a miniature in his own collection to Gentile Bellini, who would have left it behind in the Orient.”
2. Note from Berenson to Robert Lehman, September 28, 1929 (Robert Lehman Collection files). Frankfurter dated the drawing about 1438 and compared it with the animals in Pisanello’s *Vision of Saint Eustace*, datable just before 1438, in the National Gallery, London.
3. The drawing was shown as a Pisanello in Buffalo, Philadelphia, and Cincinnati. In the Paris catalogue, however, Béguin gave it as “attributed to” Pisanello and expressed doubt about the attribution.
4. For the Codex Vallardi, see Fossi Todorow 1966, pp. 15–17, with bibliography.
5. Longhi in Milan 1958, p. xxvii: “presi per il verso del pelo, . . . avvolti di un luminescente pulviscolo ‘puntinista’ quasi come in un Seurat.”
6. Quoted in Frizzoni 1884, p. 221: “il libretto in quarto in cavretto con li animali coloriti fu de mano de Michelino milanese.”
7. Fossi Todorow 1970, p. 14: “abbandonando il ‘naturalismo di repertorio,’ per passare alla raccolta di disegni tratti la prima volta dal vero.”
8. See in particular the animal studies examined by Fossi Todorow (1966, nos. 149, 405–9, 427, 431 [our Fig. 9.1], 432, 449).
9. Albertina, 4855; Fossi Todorow 1970, no. 12, fig. 21. As Fossi Todorow has noted, that sheet, which has a study for an Adoration of the Magi and other figures on its recto, was attributed to Michelino da Besozzo by Toesca (1912, pp. 443, 446) on the basis of its stylistic affinity with the miniature *Funeral Eulogy of Gian Galeazzo Visconti* of 1403, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (ms. lat. 5888).

PROVENANCE: F. R. Martin, London; [Arthur Ruck, London]. Acquired by Robert Lehman on September 30, 1929.

EXHIBITED: Buffalo 1935, no. 6, ill.; New London (Conn.) 1936, no. 2, ill.; San Francisco 1940(?); Northampton (Mass.) 1942–44; Philadelphia 1950–51, no. 9, ill.; Paris 1957, no. 118, pl. 46; Cincinnati 1959, no. 197, ill.; New York 1978, no. 10, ill.

LITERATURE: Martin 1910, p. 5, ill.; Frankfurter 1939, p. 99, fig. 2; Degenhart (1940) 1945, pp. 31, 54, 80, fig. 157; Tietze-Conrat 1946, p. 189; *Vogue* 133 (June 1959), p. 85, ill.; Fossi Todorow 1966, pp. 51, 174, 193, no. 345, pl. 128; Fossi Todorow 1970, pp. 15, 83, 89–90, fig. 24; Szabo 1983, no. 6, ill.



No. 9

Michele Giambono

(Michele di Taddeo Bono, called Giambono)

Active Venice 1420–1462

Giambono is the author of few documented and dated works and of even fewer bearing a signature. His activity in Venice can be traced very approximately to the years between 1420 and 1462.

Among Giambono's early works are two polyptychs, one from the sanctuary of the Ponte Metauro now in the Pinacoteca Civica del Palazzo Malatestiano, Fano, and the other now dismantled and scattered in museums in Italy and elsewhere. In both there is an obvious echo of Jacobello del Fiore as well as evidence of Giambono's partiality to certain cadences typical of Gentile da Fabriano and Pisanello.

Giambono's *Coronation of the Virgin*, also known as *Paradise*, formerly in Sant'Agnese and now in the Accademia, Venice, can be dated to 1447–48, and the signed mosaics in the Mascio Chapel in San Marco, Venice, to between 1449 and 1451. The *Saint Chrysogonus* in San Trovaso, Venice, a painting that also recalls the styles of Gentile da Fabriano and Pisanello, is usually assigned to the same period.

Giambono's work as a draftsman is practically unknown and can be reconstructed only through comparisons with his paintings and mosaics.

Giambono(?)

10. Standing Apostle or Saint

1975.I.547

Pen and brown ink, touches of brush and darker brown wash, over black chalk. 253 x 165 mm. Annotated in pencil on the verso in a modern hand: *Venezia quattrocento*.

It is odd that a drawing of this quality has aroused so little curiosity among scholars of Venetian art, including the Tietzes. The drawing was offered at the Grassi sale in 1924 as Venetian school of about 1450, and it was cited as such by Lugt in 1956. Heinemann published it in 1962 as from the school of Giovanni Bellini. When Szabo exhibited it in New York in 1978, however, he attributed it to Michele Giambono because he found it reminiscent of the saints in the fresco of 1432 around the Serego monument in Sant'Anastasia, Verona. Berenson had perhaps already considered that hypothesis: in Beren-

son's copy of the Grassi sale catalogue this drawing is annotated "may be Antonio Vivarini," but in the library at the Harvard Center for Renaissance Studies at Villa I Tatti, Florence, the photograph of it is classed not only under Vivarini and Giovanni d'Alemagna but also under Giambono. With no claim to certainty given the dearth of secure drawings by Giambono (see No. 8), I believe Szabo's hypothesis seems the most likely, an opinion Roger Rearick shares.¹

A drawing such as this, in simple pen and ink and without setting or action, is difficult if not impossible to identify in the absence of securely attributed drawings or painted figures with which to compare it. Our drawing does bear some resemblance to the only drawing generally accepted as being from Giambono's hand, the *Archangel Michael and a Monastic Saint* (with Saint Christopher on the verso) in the Albertina, Vienna, dated to about 1430–40.² The Albertina drawing is considered related, however generically, to the polyptych with Saint James and other saints that is now in the Accademia, Venice;³ it comes from the same Veronese collections, of Antonio II Badile and then probably Conte Lodovico Moscardo, as the *Saint Agnes* and *Saint Barbara* in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam,⁴ and a *Mary Magdalene*, once in the Francis Matthiesen collection, that has much in common with them.⁵ In both our drawing and the *Mary Magdalene*, which has been attributed to Giambono himself, the folds of the drapery cascade with the same "ritmiche sfogliature" that Longhi praised in Giambono's paintings.⁶ Both figures also have similar round curls and awkwardly bent hands, although the Magdalene is more minutely detailed and more Gothic in feeling than our figure and the linework is scratchier. The *Bust of a Youth* in the Art Institute of Chicago, a drawing from about 1450 that has been attributed to Giambono, can also to some extent be considered in connection with this figure.⁷

No corpus of drawings exists for Antonio Vivarini,⁸ but among his paintings the *Saints Nicholas and James* once in the Campana collection, now in the Musée du Petit Palais, Avignon; the *Saint Benedict* of the polyptych in the Brera, Milan; and the *Saint Peter* in the Národní Galerie, Prague, are reminiscent of our figure. More to the point, however, are comparisons with Giambono's rather grim figures of saints, including those in an



No. 10

early polyptych now in the Pinacoteca Civica del Palazzo Malatestiano, Fano,⁹ and the *Saint Mark* (National Gallery, London) and the *Saint Peter* (Samuel H. Kress Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.) from a dismantled polyptych that is also an early work.¹⁰ The saints with squarish, almost hammered-out faces in the mosaics in the Mascoli Chapel in San Marco, Venice, which can be dated between 1449 and 1451, also recall our figure.¹¹ Relevant too are the figures in the *Coronation of the Virgin* formerly in Sant'Agnese and now in the Accademia, Venice, which was commissioned in 1447¹² (the same year that a work with the same subject was painted for San Pantaleone by, significantly, Antonio Vivarini and Giovanni d'Alemagna).

These comparisons might suggest that our drawing was done about mid-century, when Giambono was working in Venice and would have been aware of Vivarini's work and also of Renaissance trends, suggested here by the tentatively receding three-quarter view of the figure.

NOTES:

1. Oral communication, 1986.
2. Albertina, 24017; Stix and Fröhlich-Bum 1926, no. 15; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 702. Stix and Fröhlich-Bum attributed the sheet to Giambono, as did the Tietzes with some reservations, and it has since been authoritatively accepted as his (see Venice 1961, no. 2, with bibliography). For a contrary opinion, however, see Land 1974, no. 83. (Land accepts as Giambono's none of the sheets that have from time to time been attributed to him.)
3. Van Marle 1923-38, vol. 7, fig. 242; Stix and Fröhlich-Bum 1926, nos. 3 and 15.
4. See No. 6, note 5.
5. Sale, Sotheby's, London, October 21, 1963, lot 67, ill. The *Mary Magdalene* is inscribed *Badille* in the upper left corner. The sale catalogue gave it as school of Verona, first half of the fifteenth century, possibly by Giovanni Badile. Peters (1965, p. 136, fig. 82) ascribed it tentatively to Michele Giambono; see also Pesaro 1977-78. The Sotheby's catalogue compared lot 67 to our drawing, which it said was "formerly in the Robert Lehman collection." It also stated that our sheet, like lot 67, was once in the Moscardo collection, but this does not seem to be supported by other evidence (see No. 2, note 1).
6. Longhi 1948, p. 86.
7. Washington, D.C.-Fort Worth-Saint Louis 1974-75, no. 1; Joachim and McCullagh 1979, no. 1, pl. 1 (as anonymous North Italian).
8. For some drawings attributed to Antonio Vivarini, see Peters 1965 and Venice-Florence 1985, no. 8.
9. Berenson 1957, vol. 1, p. 82, fig. 42.
10. See Longhi 1946, p. 50, and Sandberg Vavalà 1947.

11. Van Marle 1923-38, vol. 7, figs. 236-38; Franceschi Fruet 1975.

12. Van Marle 1923-38, vol. 7, fig. 247.

PROVENANCE: Luigi Grassi, Florence (Lugt Suppl. 1171b); Frits Lugt, Paris; Grassi sale 1924, lot 146, ill.

EXHIBITED: Northampton (Mass.) 1942-44; New York 1978, no. 15, ill.

LITERATURE: Lugt 1956, p. 171, under 1171b; Heinemann [1962], no. 5919, fig. 618; sale, Sotheby's, London, October 21, 1963, under lot 67.

Andrea Mantegna

Isola di Carturo 1431–Mantua 1506

Mantegna was the adopted son of the archaeologist-painter Francesco Squarcione, and he learned his art from Squarcione in Padua. He is documented in Padua as early as 1448 at work on the frescoes in the Ovetari Chapel in the church of the Eremitani (destroyed in 1944; the *Assumption* and the *Martyrdom of Saint Christopher* from the fresco cycle survive in fragmentary condition). It was Niccolò Pizzolo, his collaborator on the frescoes, who acquainted Mantegna with the new art of Florence that had been introduced into the Veneto by Andrea del Castagno, Filippo Lippi, and, even more significantly, Donatello. Mantegna's appreciation of the Florentines' highly modeled approach was soon apparent in his own more plastic, almost sculpted forms and clearer treatment of perspective, though he never abandoned the concern with color that was traditional in Venice, and in particular in the art of the Bellini family (Mantegna married Jacopo Bellini's daughter Nicolosia in 1453). An early example of his new style is the *Madonna and Saints* he painted for the church of San Zeno, Verona, in 1456–59.

In 1459, at the invitation of the Marchese Lodovico Gonzaga, Mantegna moved to Mantua to become court painter. He would remain there until he died, except for brief visits to Tuscany and a stay in Rome in 1488–90 to decorate the Belvedere Chapel for Innocent VIII. Mantegna's more mature style, his assured handling of monumental forms, and his acute observation of reality are evident in the works he produced for the Gonzaga in Mantua, especially the *sotto in su* decoration of the Camera degli Sposi in the Palazzo Ducale, which he began in 1471 and completed in 1474. His taste for classical literary and heroic subjects found expression in his paintings *The Triumphs of Caesar* (now at Hampton Court), begun sometime before 1486; the decorations he painted for Isabella d'Este's Studiolo in 1497 (now dispersed); and the solemn *Madonna della Vittoria* of 1495–96 (now in the Louvre, Paris).

Mantegna's fine-edged style lent itself well to graphic techniques, and although drawings that can be ascribed to his own hand are relatively rare, many others can safely be given to his school, among them some that rightly belong among the earlier works of his brother-in-law Giovanni Bellini. Mantegna was also an engraver, one of the first in Italy, and numerous engravings of religious or mythological subjects were made either from compositions of his own invention or following his models.

Circle of Mantegna

11. The Descent into Limbo

1975.I.274

Pen and brown ink, brown wash. Some contours strengthened and some areas shaded by another hand in pen and reddish brown ink. 269 x 200 mm. Mounted.

Despite its undeniable quality and importance, this drawing went virtually unnoticed until some forty years ago. Contrary to what is indicated in several bibliographies, it appears that the first scholar to take this sheet into consideration was Hind, who discussed it briefly in 1948, while it was in the Rayner-Wood collection, in connection with a print from the Mantegna school (Fig. 11.1).

The print, which I shall call the primary engraving, is known by many impressions in museums throughout the world,¹ and several derivations of it, painted and drawn as well as engraved, exist. The primary engraving's singular composition of the Descent of Christ into Limbo probably documents an original invention by Mantegna, perhaps, as Tietze-Conrat has suggested, the painting on



Fig. 11.1 School of Andrea Mantegna, *Descent into Limbo*. National Gallery of Art, Washington, Gift of W. G. Russell Allen

panel of the “instoria del linbo” he was working on when he wrote to the Marchese Lodovico Gonzaga on June 28, 1468.² Hind, and Kristeller before him, thought the invention might date much earlier, to the late 1440s, when Mantegna was painting the frescoes in the Ovetari Chapel in the church of the Eremitani in Padua; Fiocco suggested a much later date.³ Although the date of the lost composition by Mantegna must remain an open question, it would appear to me to come from the same period as the “triptych” in the Uffizi and the *Exequies of the Virgin* in the Prado, both of which have been dated to the 1460s.⁴ As other scholars have noted, the pose of the apostle bending over the Virgin’s deathbed in the Prado painting resembles that of Christ in the primary engraving.

In all the variations on the theme of the primary engraving, the figure of Christ has been adopted with only slight modifications. It is in any case the most original part of the composition and seems to have been an iconographic novelty. In the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, there is a drawing that, whether it is by Mantegna himself or one of his followers, clearly demonstrates the Mantegnesque paternity of this highly innovative figure of Christ in Limbo, shown not from the front and triumphant but from the rear and stooping as he prepares to enter the nether regions.⁵ The man holding the cross to the left of the mouth of the grotto in the primary engraving has been identified as Adam, but he is more likely the Good Thief Dismas.⁶ In the group to the right the old woman is unquestionably Eve, the bent figure to her left is almost certainly Adam, and the young man covering his ears may be Cain.

The prints, drawings, and paintings derived from the primary engraving can be divided roughly into two groups. The compositions in the first group most closely follow the engraving. They include a second, contemporary version of the engraving, which differs only in that the shadow cast by the two crossed spikes at the left and the shading under the Good Thief’s right hand where it grasps the cross are missing.⁷ There is also an engraved copy in a more emphatic style, inscribed with Mario Cartaro’s monogram and the date 1566, that follows the primary engraving quite faithfully but with some variations: for instance, the figures’ loins have been covered, Christ has been shifted to the left, the three demons have been rearranged, and the shapes of the entrance to Limbo and the surrounding rock have been changed.⁸

Also part of the first group is an extraordinary painting on vellum, now in the City of Bristol Museum and Art Gallery (Fig. 11.2), that Byam Shaw published in 1952

as by Giovanni Bellini.⁹ In an addendum to his article published a few months later, he further noted the similarities between the Bristol painting and a drawing at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris, which Hind had mentioned in 1948 in connection with the primary engraving.¹⁰ A painting formerly in the Lepke collection, Berlin, belongs in this group as well. The compositions of the Bristol painting, the Ecole des Beaux-Arts drawing, and the Lepke painting all match that of the primary engraving and its copies, but they differ in several details. Most significantly, the grotto has been changed, and vines creep along the rocks and other plants grow from the fissures (though in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts drawing the rocks are bare); the demons, though in the same positions, have become less terrifying; and Eve is a beautiful young woman (in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts drawing the upper half of this figure has been left unfinished). It was these “gentler” variants and the more pictorial style that induced Byam Shaw in 1952 and other scholars after that to consider these works to be by Giovanni Bellini in his younger years,



Fig. 11.2 Giovanni Bellini, *Descent into Limbo*. City of Bristol Museum and Art Gallery



No. 11



Fig. 11.3 Andrea Mantegna, *Descent into Limbo*. Barbara Piasecka-Johnson collection, Princeton

from a phase around 1470, when he was reworking ideas of his brother-in-law Mantegna.

More complex divergences from the primary engraving are found in a second group of works, which have been considered related to a hypothetical later composition by Mantegna but are more likely simply variations on the theme of this same engraving. These include a painting formerly in the Stephen Courtauld collection and now in the Barbara Piasecka-Johnson collection, Princeton (Fig. 11.3);¹¹ another formerly in the collection of the Conti Valier, Asolo, and now in the Blaffer collection, Houston (in which a landscape is added at the top);¹² and a third, of much inferior quality, from the Zambeccari collection and now in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna.¹³ Lightbown believes the ex-Courtauld painting, which he has no doubt is by Mantegna himself and dates to the 1490s, may be the painting known to have been in the collection of Conte Jacopo Durazzo in Genoa in the late 1700s.¹⁴ It could be, however, that all three of these paintings are copies. Four eighteenth-century engravings repeat this composition.¹⁵ In one of them a tablet inscribed 1492 MA AMF has been added at the lower right, perhaps based on a tradition now lost, but in any case providing a terminus ante quem for Mantegna's original invention. In this version of the composition, the setting has been given far less prominence, and the demons are missing. Adam and Eve and the probable Cain, in different poses and accompanied by a fourth figure, are at the

left, and the isolated figure, without the cross and in a pose similar to that of Adam in the engraving, is at the right. Furthermore, the Christ in this version is closer to the Berlin drawing than is the figure in the engraving and the first group of variants.

In both iconography and spirit our drawing resembles the works of the first group – the primary engraving, the Ecole des Beaux-Arts drawing, and the Bristol painting. Yet there are a number of conspicuous and inventive variations that have led most scholars to conclude that the author of this sheet was not a copyist or workshop assistant but a master – Mantegna himself or Giovanni Bellini – who was working out an idea intermediate between the one documented by the primary engraving and the one characteristic of the second group of variants, best represented by the ex-Courtauld painting. The figure of Christ, for example, is slightly altered, the positions of the arms and legs changed just enough to give greater impetus to his movement toward the entrance to Limbo. The Good Thief, if that is who he is, is to the right rather than the left, and he is posed differently. The three figures opposite him are also in quite different poses: Eve, younger in appearance and draped, covers her left ear with her hand in a gesture more like that of the third figure in the engraving; Adam, older and bearded, is viewed frontally, as he is to some extent seen in the second group of replicas; and the third figure is half hidden behind Adam. The three devils, again rearranged, howl with frustration instead of blowing trumpets. The rocks in the foreground and around the gate are also different from those in the engraving, as are the fragments of the broken door. A drawing in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, is similar in all details to our sheet, but drier and of quite mediocre quality.¹⁶

In 1948 Hind compared the Lehman sheet to a group of drawings Byam Shaw had attributed to Bernardo Parentino.¹⁷ When the drawing was exhibited at the Royal Academy in London in 1953, however, Byam Shaw was inclined to consider it a reworking of the idea of the Mantegnesque engraving from the hand of the same artist who produced the Bristol painting and the Ecole des Beaux-Arts drawing, that is, Giovanni Bellini. It was under that name that the sheet appeared in the catalogue of the Skippe sale in 1958, and it was purchased as such the next year by Robert Lehman for the not inconsiderable price of £2,000. In 1961, in the catalogue of the Mantua exhibition, Mezzetti presented the Beaux-Arts drawing as by Giovanni Bellini, but suggested that the Lehman drawing, like the one in the Bibliothèque Nationale (which, as I have said, is very much inferior to it), is a

workshop derivation. In 1962 Heinemann, admitting that he did not have firsthand knowledge of the Lehman drawing, ruled out Giovanni Bellini as the author of it and the Ecole des Beaux-Arts example; both drawings, in his opinion, originate from the circle of Mantegna. Although Bean and Stampfle favored the Bellini attribution in their catalogue of the New York exhibition of 1965–66, they noted that it was one of a group of drawings that had been “alternately attributed to Mantegna and Giovanni Bellini for several generations.”

The uncertainty between the two artists having thus been made official, so to speak, the drawing was next cited in the catalogue of the Washington exhibition of 1973 in comparison with the Mantegnesque engraving and its various derivatives, with a decided inclination to consider it from Mantegna’s own hand and in a stage intermediate between the primary engraving and the ex-Courtauld painting, which was held to be a copy of an invention of Mantegna’s from about the 1460s. Pignatti, in the catalogue for the exhibition that opened in Washington, D.C., in 1974, and Feinblatt, in the catalogue of the 1976 Los Angeles exhibition, were undecided between Bellini and Mantegna but with a preference for the latter. In his brief entries for the catalogues of the exhibitions of 1978 and 1981–82 Szabo wavered between the brothers-in-law, but in his much more detailed consideration of 1983 he opted for Bellini. And finally, Zucker, in 1984 in a discussion of the primary engraving (which he attributed hypothetically to Zoan Andrea), noted that our sheet, “a very good pen and ink drawing [that] depicts the composition in yet another variant, . . . has been ascribed to Bellini and Mantegna, though the hand of a third party cannot be ruled out.”¹⁸

The latter does seem the most fruitful hypothesis. The Ecole des Beaux-Arts drawing and the Bristol painting differ only minimally from the engraving, just enough to support the idea of a merely stylistically differentiated variation on the theme of the engraving carried out by a faithful but “gentler” interpreter of Mantegna’s art, whether or not he was Giovanni Bellini. Although, as we have said, our drawing is closer to the first group of variants, the differences between it and the engraving are such as to make it a unique case, independent of all the others. This could be the initial idea entertained by the inventor of the engraving, or perhaps a variant introduced by the artist who first converted that idea into an engraving (Zoan Andrea, as Zucker proposed?). We are simply in no position to know if Mantegna’s initial idea did not perhaps take this form, with Dismas and the progenitors reversed, the disheveled Adam – a classi-

cal nude cum Wild Man – placed frontally to balance the Good Thief’s static pose, and the howling demons arranged so as to enhance these more dramatic effects.

Whereas the invention of both the drawing and the engraving may well have come from Mantegna, it appears less probable that the hand that executed our drawing was his own. The sheet is somewhat worn and some of the lines have been retraced, so that no reading can be entirely certain. But it is clear that the drawing has neither the harsh bite of Mantegna nor Bellini’s heartrending and expressive intensity. Jacobsen’s contention that the Beaux-Arts drawing is a free copy of the Mantegna engraving but that “the lines of the cave and the devils are too deliberate and unanimated to be by Bellini”¹⁹ (or by Mantegna, I would add) seems indirectly applicable to our drawing. The hatching is also somewhat stiff, the space is not well constructed and does not really create an impression of depth, and though they are quite well delineated the figures are compressed onto a single plane and disposed without true regard for their position within a unified perspective. These factors may justify the doubts some scholars have expressed as to whether the sheet is



Fig. 11.4 Attributed to Bernardo Parentino, *Saint John the Baptist*. Musée Bonnat, Bayonne. Photograph: Doucet, copyright Arch. Phot. Paris, S.P.A.D.E.M.

autograph and lend support to certain alternative attributions. The most convincing of those alternatives, in my opinion, and not to be lightly dismissed, is the attribution to Parentino suggested by Hind in 1948 and never taken up again. In graphic treatment this sheet does not in fact differ much from several drawings that have been more or less plausibly ascribed to Parentino: the *Two Seated Shepherds* in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris,²⁰ the *Horseman and Foot Soldier* in the National Gallery, Edinburgh,²¹ the *Allegory of Peace* in the Cleveland Museum of Art,²² the *Allegory of Victory* in Christ Church, Oxford,²³ and, especially, the *Saint John the Baptist* in the Musée Bonnat, Bayonne (Fig. 11.4).²⁴

NOTES:

1. The primary engraving is Bartsch XIII.230.5; Hind 1938–48, vol. 5, pp. 18–19, no. 9 (with a list of the repositories of impressions); Washington, D.C. 1973, no. 80; Zucker 1984, no. 2506.013a; Lightbown 1986, no. 216, pl. 236a.
2. Tietze-Conrat 1955, p. 217. For the letter, see Kristeller 1902, p. 525, doc. 39, and Luzio 1913, pl. facing p. 56, both cited in Lightbown 1986, no. 70. This would support Tietze-Conrat's (1955, pp. 243–44) suggestion that the engraving of the *Descent into Limbo*, like the *Descent from the Cross* and the *Entombment* that some scholars consider part of the same series of Passion scenes (which also includes a *Flagellation*), reproduces a lost composition that Mantegna executed in the 1460s for the San Giorgio Chapel in the Palazzo Ducale, Mantua; see also Zucker 1984, no. 2506.009, and Lightbown 1986, nos. 213–16.
3. Kristeller 1901, vol. 1, fig. 141; Hind 1938–48, vol. 5, p. 18; Fiocco 1937, p. 77.
4. Lightbown 1986, nos. 14–16, 18, pls. VI, 50, 51, 53.
5. Kupferstichkabinett, 622; Mantua 1961, no. 124; Lightbown 1986, no. 203, pl. 226.
6. For the interpretation of this figure, see Hoffmann 1971, no. 38, and Washington, D.C. 1973, no. 80. A similar figure appears in other contemporary depictions of the scene, many of them from the Veneto; see, for example, the *Descent into Limbo* in Jacopo Bellini's sketchbook in the Louvre, Paris (Degenhart and Schmitt 1984, fol. 21v, pl. 22), and the predella by him now in the Museo Civico, Padua (Benson 1957, vol. 1, p. 38, pl. 69). The figure also appears in Marcantonio's engraving (Bartsch XIV.41) after the Mantegnesque composition; see Bologna 1988, no. 13.
7. Hind 1938–48, vol. 5, p. 19, no. 9A; Zucker 1984, no. 2506.013b. Far fewer impressions of this replica are known.
8. Bartsch XIII.231.5A and XXXI.523.7; Hind 1938–48, vol. 5, p. 19; Zucker 1984, no. 2506.013c1.
9. Byam Shaw 1952, pp. 157–59, fig. 1; Robertson (1968) 1981, pl. 54a.
10. Ecole des Beaux-Arts, 189; Hind 1938–48, vol. 5, p. 18; Byam Shaw 1952, p. 237, fig. 27; Venice 1988, no. 2. Robertson ([1968] 1981, pp. 25–26, pl. 13a) argued for attributing the drawing to Mantegna.
11. Fiocco 1937, fig. 158; Tietze-Conrat 1955, fig. 26; Lightbown 1986, no. 34, pl. 125.
12. See Zucker 1984, no. 2506.031b, n. 2. Fiocco (1937, p. 77, fig. 159) held that the Houston painting is a late work by Mantegna himself that was retouched by Correggio, who would have added the landscape at the top. See also Lightbown 1986, nos. 34, 70, 137.
13. Lightbown 1986, p. 438, pl. 226.
14. Ibid., no. 34. Tietze-Conrat (1955, pp. 197–98) also assigned a late date to the ex-Courtauld painting. See also Kristeller 1901, pp. 103, 454, 463.
15. Two of these engravings are cited by Bartsch as additions to his catalogue of Mantegna's engravings (Bartsch XIII.242.1, 243.2). Hind (1938–48, vol. 5, p. 19) records those two at the British Museum and two others in the Museo Correr, Venice; he proposes that Francesco Novelli may be responsible for at least one of these engravings. See also Zucker 1984, nos. 2506.031a, b.
16. Bibliothèque Nationale, 85.C.124701; Mantua 1961, p. 175.
17. Hind 1938–48, vol. 5, p. 19, citing Byam Shaw 1934. Hind also recognized this drawing's similarity to the Ecole des Beaux-Arts drawing and the ex-Courtauld painting.
18. Zucker 1984, no. 2506.013a; see also ibid., no. 2506.009.
19. Jacobsen 1976, p. 79.
20. Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Masson 1468; Byam Shaw 1934, p. 4, no. 19.
21. National Gallery, D.655; Andrews 1968, no. A611.
22. Cleveland Museum of Art, 5641; Cleveland 1979, no. 116.
23. Christ Church Library, 0267; Byam Shaw 1976, no. 696.
24. Musée Bonnat, 687; Bean 1960, no. 58. This drawing, formerly ascribed to Mantegna, was given to Liberale da Verona(?) by Bean, but Byam Shaw (1934, p. 3, pl. 4) ascribed it to Parentino, and that attribution was confirmed by Ruhmer (1962b).

PROVENANCE: John Skippe, the Upper Hall, Ledbury, England (see Lugt 1529a–b); his sister, Penelope Skippe, married in 1774 to James Martin, Overbury Court, Worcestershire; James Martin's son, Old Colwall, Malvern; by descent through his mother to Edward Holland; his sister, Mrs. A. C. Rayner-Wood; his nephew, Edward Holland-Martin; Skippe sale 1958, lot 37, pl. 5; [P. and D. Colnaghi and Co., London]. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1959.

EXHIBITED: London 1953, no. 21; New York 1965–66, no. 3; Los Angeles 1976, no. 36, ill.; New York 1978, no. 23, ill.

LITERATURE: Hind 1938–48, vol. 5, pp. 18–19; Mantua 1961, p. 175; Heinemann [1962], under no. 179; Hoffmann 1971, p. 102; Washington, D.C. 1973, under no. 80, fig. 9-3; Washington, D.C.–Fort Worth–Saint Louis 1974–75, no. 2; Jacobsen 1976, p. 79; Hibbard 1980, p. 240, fig. 427; Rochester 1981–82, fig. 6; Szabo 1983, no. 15, ill.; Zucker 1984, p. 107; Bologna 1988, p. 116 and n. 4; Venice 1988, p. 24.

Follower of Mantegna

12. The Holy Family with Saint Elizabeth and the Infant John the Baptist

1975.1.372

Pen and brown ink, brush and greenish gray and brown wash, gray wash applied to the background, probably by a later hand. 270 x 260 mm. Laid down. Upper right corner made up. Annotated on the verso at the top (visible against the light): *Andrea Mantegna*.

This drawing appears to document, in unusual fashion, a step in the preparation of a fifteenth-century engraving. It corresponds, unfinished and in reverse, to a rare engraving that Hind attributed, with some reservation, to Giovanni Maria da Brescia (Fig. 12.1).¹

In the engraving the nearly square shape of the drawing has been elongated, but the figures in the two versions are the same size, and the spatial relations between them are similar. Whereas the figures are evidently Mantegnesque, the trees and background in the engraving, as Hind noted, were faithfully adopted, in reverse, from Dürer's well-known print *Saint Eustace*, of about 1501 (Bartsch VII.57), and the terrain in the foreground is based on the same print. The wash that fills the background of the drawing and tends to weigh the figures down was probably added at a later date. Aside from the figure of Saint Joseph, the other differences between the drawing and the print are in details only: for example, in the engraving the Madonna and the two saints have been given halos, the two infants have curls, the position of the Madonna's right foot has been changed, and her garment has been embellished at the neckline.

Although the possibility that this is a mirror-image copy of the engraving cannot be ruled out, it is much more likely to have been a preparatory drawing left incomplete by the artist either because he was not satisfied with it or for technical reasons. It may simply represent one stage in the engraving process; the artist could have completed the subject on another sheet before transferring it to the copper plate. The technique is indeed rather stiff, more as if the drawing were done with a burin on copper than with a pen on paper.

This would by no means be the only example of an unfinished drawing from the Veneto that would seem to be connected with engravings. The *Saint Jerome in a Landscape* (Uffizi, Florence) from the school of Giovanni Bellini² and, despite its present altered appearance, the *Saint John the Baptist in a Landscape* (Louvre, Paris) attributed to Giulio Campagnola or Giorgione are both

cases in point.³ As Szabo noted in his brief entry in the catalogue of the exhibition in New York in 1978, the style and unfinished state of our drawing also resemble engravings from the school of Mantegna, in particular the unfinished *Adoration of the Magi* (*Virgin in the Grotto*), in which the two unfinished figures show a marked affinity with our Saint Joseph.⁴ The Holy Family with Saint Elizabeth and the young John the Baptist was a favorite subject of Mantegna and his followers; a print attributed to Giovanni Antonio da Brescia that is very similar to the one related to our drawing is but one example.⁵

Should the hypothesis that our drawing was preparatory to an engraving by Giovanni Maria da Brescia prove



Fig. 12.1 Attributed to Giovanni Maria da Brescia, *The Holy Family with Saint Elizabeth and the Infant Saint John the Baptist*. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



No. 12

valid, this would be an important document from far more than a technical point of view, for his oeuvre has yet to be thoroughly investigated and no other drawings by him are known. Recently, however, Zucker has rejected Giovanni Maria as the author of the *Holy Family* engraving on the quite reasonable grounds that it appears to him to have little in common with the four other engravings that can be securely attributed to Giovanni Maria, none of which, moreover, show that the artist had any knowledge of Dürer.⁶ Compared with those other engravings the *Holy Family* print is indeed more overtly Mantegnesque: its composition is more balanced, and light and shadow are treated in a very different manner. For the present, therefore, attributing our drawing to Giovanni Maria would be somewhat rash.

NOTES:

1. Hind 1938–48, vol. 5, p. 58, no. 5. Bartsch did not list the engraving, and Hind knew only the print in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (C.9199), where it was then attributed, strangely enough, to Pollaiuolo. Hind ascribed it to Giovanni Maria da Brescia on the basis of comparison with the style of engraving and the way the details are drawn in the other prints attributed to him, in particular *The Justice of the Emperor Trajan* (ibid., p. 57, no. 2; Bartsch XIII.312.1), in which the head of Trajan is related to that of the Saint Elizabeth in the print.
2. Uffizi, 152F. Tietze and Tietze-Conrat (1944, no. A300) listed this drawing under Giovanni Bellini. According to Heinemann ([1962], no. 332), the body of the saint is by Giovanni, done about 1465, but the figure's head, the lion to his left, and the landscape are by a pupil.
3. Louvre, R.F.1979; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 568; Venice 1976a, no. 2, ill. The landscape and the figure are by two different hands. The complicated problem of the technique and attribution of this drawing has been discussed both by the Tietzes and, more recently, by Oberhuber in the Venice catalogue. For the landscape, traditionally considered to be by Giulio Campagnola, Oberhuber tentatively suggested Giorgione.
4. Hind 1938–48, vol. 5, p. 22, no. 13; Washington, D.C. 1973, no. 81. The engraving was inspired by the lower right portion of the central panel of Mantegna's triptych in the Uffizi, Florence (Washington, D.C. 1973, fig. 9-4).
5. Hind 1938–48, vol. 5, p. 38, no. 4; Washington, D.C. 1973, no. 89. The Madonna was inspired by Mantegna's *Holy Family* in the Gemäldegalerie, Dresden (Washington, D.C. 1973, fig. 10-1).
6. Zucker 1984, pp. 305–6, nn. 1, 5. For the four engravings attributed to Giovanni Maria, see Hind 1938–48, vol. 5, pp. 55–58, nos. 1–4, and Zucker 1984, nos. 2510.0001–.0004. Two of them are listed by Bartsch (XIII.312.1, 313.appendix).

PROVENANCE: Not established.

EXHIBITED: Poughkeepsie 1942–44; New York 1978, no. 43, ill.

Giovanni Bellini

Venice ca. 1430–Venice 1516

In their father Jacopo's workshop Giovanni and his brother Gentile were inculcated with a tradition that was still predominantly Gothic. It was only after he was confronted with what his brother-in-law Mantegna was doing and with examples of the Tuscan style that had recently been introduced into Venice and Padua that Giovanni succeeded in shaking off that outmoded manner. His new approach can already be seen in a *Transfiguration* (Museo Correr, Venice) and an *Agony in the Garden* (National Gallery, London), both dated to before 1460, where the influence of Mantegna is tempered by softer coloring and an almost intimate way of integrating figures into the landscape backgrounds that would become such a frequent feature of his compositions.

His acquaintance with the art of Piero della Francesca and the Flemings encouraged Bellini in his effort to organize spatial recession by means of planes defined by light and imbued with an awareness of nature, as in the altarpiece of 1471–74 in the Museo Civico, Pesaro, and the *Transfiguration* in the Pinacoteca, Naples. In time Giovanni would make what he learned from Antonello da Messina the very essence of his art, culminating in the large altarpiece of Saint Job painted in 1487 (Accademia, Venice), and the exquisite *Sacred Allegory* (Uffizi, Florence). After he became official painter to the Venetian Republic in 1483, Giovanni directed a large workshop that busily popularized his innovative iconographic and stylistic formulas through replicas and imitations of his portraits, *Sacre Conversazioni*, Madonnas, and Pietàs. Meanwhile, the aging master's own work took on new life inspired by the monumental forms and rich coloring of the younger generation of artists represented by Giorgione, one of his many pupils. This is most evident in the altarpieces Giovanni painted for the Venetian churches of San Zaccaria and San Giovanni Crisostomo in 1505 and 1513, respectively, and the *Feast of the Gods* (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.), which he painted for the duke of Ferrara in 1514.

Of the numerous drawings from the Bellini circle, with a wide range of subjects and in many mediums, few can be assigned with any certainty to Giovanni. The pen and ink drawings from his earlier years are often confused with Mantegna's, and his more highly finished examples in ink on blue paper have much in common with the products of other major Veneto artists, both of his own and the next generation.

Circle of Giovanni Bellini

13. Vulcan Building a Fence Around the Mount of Venus

1975.1.320

Pen and brown ink, over traces of black chalk. 283 x 396 mm. Mounted. Corners made up. Annotated on the old mat in pencil in a modern hand: *Ferrarese School. Venus with Cupid attended by the Hours on a mount surrounded by a palisade. / c.p. 9. 7. Hill. See of Vasari Society by whom it has been reproduced.*

That no similar drawings are known, least of all any with such a secular theme, is but one distinction of this famous yet still mysterious drawing. For all its complexity, interpreting the iconography of this drawing is perhaps easier than determining its author. Both difficulties were already apparent to Fry when he published the sheet for the first time, in 1906 while it was still in the collection of Edward Holland-Martin, one of the Skippe heirs.¹ Fry's succinct but adequate description of the subject was then expanded and better defined in 1959 and 1975 in the catalogues of the New York and Ann Arbor exhibitions.

Fry suggested that the mount might be the medieval "Venusberg," the paradisiac hollow mountain of German folklore that, as Hannah Abrahamson has noted, first appeared in literature associated with Venus in 1440.² Venus, divine rays emanating from her body, sits at the summit of the hill embracing Cupid. Because he is held by his mother and so not likely to unloose his potent arrows, the child's blindfold is raised. Four maidens, perhaps the Horae, kneel around Venus and attend to her toilette; two of them comb the goddess's hair, the third holds a vase of ointments or perfumes, and the fourth proffers an elaborate mirror. The two rabbits playing toward the front of the hill symbolize fertility, the peacock perched on the fence to the right is the bird associated with Juno, the protector of women and marriage, and the two birds in the trees to the right are perhaps doves, attributes of Venus. Vulcan's stool and his blacksmith's tools have been abandoned at the entrance to the grotto. The god himself, seemingly quite agile despite his crippled leg, is building a palisade or stockade around the hill, as if to serve notice that matrimony not only protects but confines love. One putto stands inside the stockade helping Vulcan, while eight others play outside the enclosure; the two embracing each other just outside the entrance are perhaps Eros and his brother Anteros,



No. 13



Fig. 13.1 Francesco del Cossa, *Triumph of Venus over Mars*. Palazzo Schifanoia, Ferrara. Photograph: Musei Civici d'Arte Antica, Ferrara

who personify reciprocal love. A hilly landscape with houses and greenery fills the background, and to the left stands a more lavish palacelike edifice from which three girls seem just to have emerged. Two of the girls, one carrying what looks like a garland, the other a leafy branch, have already entered the enclosure; the third follows behind. This trio has been identified as the Three Graces, but they are more likely girls readying themselves for marriage. Taurus, the zodiacal sign for April, soars in the sky to the left, while to the right the spring wind Zephyr wafts flowers toward Venus and her handmaidens.

If we can at least entertain some credible hypotheses regarding this drawing's subject, the identification of its author is much less clear. Fry summed up the problem in 1906:

The distant landscape with a town by a river-side reminds us of the backgrounds which Bellini took from the Euganean hills. That the drawing is North Italian is indicated both by the technique and by the style of the architecture. There is indeed much in the general treatment and in the composition which reminds one

of Jacopo Bellini's sketches. The types of the figures are near to Cossa, and the treatment is so similar to that found in the frescoes of the Schifanoia palace that one may provisionally ascribe it to one of the artists that assisted Cossa in that work.³

Eighty years later we are not much surer than Fry was. Most scholars have compared, though not necessarily identified, this drawing with the fresco cycle depicting the months of the year in the Palazzo Schifanoia, the Este residence in Ferrara.⁴ The cycle was perhaps conceived by Pellegrino Prisciani, master astrologer and historian for the Este family, and it was executed by various artists of the Ferrarese school in the years 1469–70. The frescoes are arranged in three horizontal bands, with depictions of the triumphs of the gods in the upper register, the three *decani* of each month and the appropriate sign of the zodiac in the center, and scenes from contemporary life below. Our drawing has been compared in particular with the fresco above the sign for April, the *Triumph of Venus over Mars* (Fig. 13.1), which has a similar hill, and it has been noted as well that the figures bear some resemblance to those in the *Triumph of Apollo* (May) and to the loves of Venus and Mars in the *Triumph of Lust* (September). As a consequence, our sheet has been repeatedly if tentatively attributed either to Francesco del Cossa (ca. 1435–1477), who painted the *Triumph of Venus over Mars* and supervised the work on the frescoes on the east wall of the Schifanoia cycle, or, more often, to one of the Ferrarese artists who assisted him.⁵ Abrahamson speculated in the catalogue of the 1959 exhibition that the drawing may have been “originally designed to serve as a model for a counterpart to the Mars-Venus fresco, a plan which may have been abandoned after Cossa’s departure from Ferrara in the midst of the work.”⁶

It is unlikely that there could have been a “counterpart” to the carefully established program of the Schifanoia cycle. Furthermore, although at first glance our drawing’s relation to the frescoes seems obvious, more careful analysis of the style and details sets it well apart from the attribution to Cossa or another Ferrarese artist and confirms not only the prudent doubts expressed first by Fry in 1906 and then by Byam Shaw but also the connection they intuited with a Venetian and specifically Bellinian culture.⁷ This does not conflict with Ruhmer’s suggestion of Bernardo Parentino, but the Lehman drawing seems to me to be less archaic, “antiquarian,” and Mantegnesque than other works securely ascribed to Parentino.⁸ The way the reed pen was used both to con-

struct the forms with broad strokes and to model them with highly luminous broken lines; the landscape, which, as Byam Shaw has said, has more in common with Bellini’s works than with Mantegna’s; and the palace, which is more reminiscent of the classicizing edifices of early Renaissance Venice, those of Coducci to be precise, than of the buildings found in Ferrarese paintings, which have Tuscan-style *pietre dure* decoration and look less like homes, all speak in favor of Venice or, more generally, the Veneto.

Above all, however, it is the women’s hairstyles and garments that suggest the Venetian area and a time later than that of the exceedingly refined and somewhat dour women of the Schifanoia frescoes. These women’s bodies and gestures are freer, less constrained by very tight bodices and severe, complicated hairstyles. They wear no caps, and though their hair is pulled up into high chignons it escapes in wisps at the temples like that of so many of Carpaccio’s women. The necklines of their dresses are also more softly draped than those of the Ferrarese women’s overgarments, the sleeves are set in lower on the shoulders, and the armholes are less tight. The cut-velvet decoration on the sleeves of the girl with the mirror (also Venetian) is of a kind that was very common in the Venice area.

Another detail that points to Venice is the fence, which is woven like the one in the *Nativity* from the school of Bellini that was formerly in the collection of Count



Fig. 13.2 School of Giovanni Bellini, *Nativity*. Courtauld Institute Galleries, London (Princes Gate Collection)

Antoine von Seilern in London and is now in the Courtauld Institute Galleries (Fig. 13.2).⁹ Indeed, it is this very detail that leads us to consider that drawing the only possible parallel to ours, the different theme and the perhaps earlier date notwithstanding. Moreover, in both works the shadows and parts of the landscape have been hatched with the reed pen. And the treatment of the drapery (note, for example, how the folds of the garments of Venus and the Virgin spread out onto the ground) and the somewhat sketchily drawn animals, particularly those in the background, are similar as well. In short, the echo of Giambellino is unmistakable.

This recognized, it remains no less difficult to say which of the many Venetian artists of the lagoon or the mainland who were active at the close of the Quattrocento in both the Bellini and Carpaccio circles might be the author of our drawing. Certainly he was not unaware of other, earlier work, as the Mantegnesque rocks of the grotto, the "Paduan" putti, and the composition, which inevitably brings to mind the earlier cycle in Ferrara, all attest. Our author's general tendency might be considered midway between the art of Venice and Ferrara. And even though his early training might have been more Ferrarese, he was evidently oriented toward the newer and fresher sensibility of Giovanni Bellini.

This scene could have been conceived for a fresco cycle, or, more plausibly, for a series of easel paintings or a room decoration. The large size of the drawing, however, as well as its proportions and its air of being complete both thematically and formally, suggests that it could have been a *modello* for an individual painting commissioned for a particular purpose, perhaps, as was suggested in the catalogue of the Ann Arbor exhibition, to adorn a bridal chamber.

NOTES:

1. Edward Holland-Martin inherited the collection of John Skippe (1742–1811); see Nos. 11; 29, note 1; 92, note 1; and 93. Skippe's mark does not appear on this particular sheet, however. It bears instead a fragmentary mark that is probably the important sign of ownership of Jan Pietersz. Zoomer (1641–1724), along with a handsome gold mark, with a heraldic animal, that Lugt (1956, no. 2798) did not identify but held to be of Italian origin. Lugt found this same mark on a number of drawings, many of them of the Venetian and Paduan schools, owned by Skippe. (He could have bought them in Venice between 1773 and 1781.) This too may help confirm the Venetian authorship proposed here.
2. Abrahamson in New York 1959b, no. 6, citing Barto (1913) 1916.
3. Fry in Vasari Society 1906–7, no. 14.
4. For recent studies on the frescoes in the Salone dei Mesi in the Palazzo Schifanoia, see D'Ancona [1954] and Varese 1980 (with bibliography).
5. In London in 1930 the drawing was shown as from the school of Francesco Cossa; in the catalogue of the New York exhibition of 1965–66 Bean and Stampfle listed it under Cossa but said that although the "North Italian origin of the drawing is indisputable, . . . the locale and the artist that should be credited with its lively invention are less clear." In 1983 Szabo seemed convinced by the attribution to Cossa or one of his close associates.
6. Abrahamson in New York 1959b, no. 6, p. 9.
7. When the drawing was exhibited in London in 1953, while it was in Mrs. Rayner-Wood's collection, Byam Shaw catalogued it as "North Italian School" and cautiously suggested that it might be Venetian because he saw in it echoes of Giovanni Bellini's early work. In 1978 he included it under Bellini.
8. Ruhmer (1958) hypothesized that Parentino might be the Monogrammist PP (see Zucker 1984, pp. 437–39), but the linework in our drawing is too supple, almost painterly, to suggest the hand of an engraver. Byam Shaw assembled a group of drawings by Parentino in 1934. From time to time others were added to that initial group, and in 1966 Ważbiński made a selection that afforded a coherent profile of the artist. Our drawing fits neither stylistically nor chronologically in Parentino's oeuvre.
9. Heinemann [1962], no. s.898, fig. 619. In his own careful record (1959, no. 79), Seilern pointed up valid comparisons that support an attribution to Giovanni Bellini and a date before 1475, at the time of the Pesaro altarpiece, but in view of the extreme delicacy of the problem he did not take a decisive position on whether the drawing is from the master's own hand. Byam Shaw (1978, vol. 1, no. 27) attributed it to Bellini, comparing it to this Lehman drawing. See also No. 11.

PROVENANCE: Jan Pietersz. Zoomer, Amsterdam (Lugt 1511); private collection, Italy(?) (Lugt Suppl. 2798); John Skippe, the Upper Hall, Ledbury, England (see Lugt 1529a–b); his sister, Penelope Skippe, married in 1774 to James Martin, Overbury Court, Worcestershire; James Martin's son, Old Colwall, Malvern; by descent through his mother to Edward Holland; his sister, Mrs. A. C. Rayner-Wood; his nephew, Edward Holland-Martin; Skippe sale 1958, lot 81, pl. 12. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1958.

EXHIBITED: London 1930, no. 147, pl. 127; London 1953, no. 20; New York 1959b, no. 6, ill.; New York 1965–66, no. 8, ill.; Ann Arbor 1975–76, no. 59, pl. 10; Los Angeles 1976, no. 75, ill.; Tokyo 1977, no. 3, ill.; New York 1978, no. 17, ill.; Evanston 1988, no. 4, pl. 1.

LITERATURE: Fry in Vasari Society 1906–7, no. 14; Parker 1927, no. 24, ill.; Ortolani 1941, p. 137; Ruhmer 1958, pp. 40–41, fig. 35; Moskowit 1962, no. 63, ill.; Ames 1963, pp. 62, 132, pl. 30; Szabo 1975, p. 103, pl. 176; Byam Shaw 1978, vol. 1, no. 28; Szabo 1983, no. 11, ill.

Andrea da Murano

(Andrea di Giovanni, called Andrea da Murano)

Documented Venice 1462–1507

Andrea da Murano was frequently mentioned by early historians like Ridolfi (1648), who made him, not without reason, the head of the local school of Murano. In 1936, however, Van Marle declared that the painter's reputation was "only the result of the undeserved praise of the ancient authors," and in 1944 the Tietzes called Andrea "a close and poor follower of Bartolomeo Vivarini." In a more recent reassessment of Andrea's work, Zeri called him the only one of the painters from Murano "who did not remain tied to immutable formulas." Zeri attributed the *Lamentation over the Dead Christ* in the parish church of the Madonna del Torresino in Cittadella to Andrea in an article published in 1968. In that painting, he said, "the models of Donatello and Mantegna are interpreted in the style of Bartolomeo Vivarini. . . . We find here a strength of drawing quite original and sustained by a sincere naturalism to which Giovanni Bellini cannot have failed to contribute."

The first record of Andrea da Murano is from 1462–63, when he was employed as a gilder in the church of San Zaccaria in Venice. Documents also confirm that in 1468 he and Bartolomeo Vivarini were commissioned to paint historical scenes for the Scuola di San Marco, a project that lasted some six years, and that he was operating a workshop in the Santa Maria Formosa quarter in 1472.

Andrea's earliest surviving work, the signed altarpiece probably painted about 1475 for San Pietro Martire in Murano and now in the Accademia, Venice, clearly owes much to Bartolomeo Vivarini. But Andrea coloristically altered Vivarini's formal style in a manner echoing Giovanni Bellini's concepts, and he also introduced a sense of volume that seems reminiscent of the work of the Florentine Andrea del Castagno, whom he may have met in Venice. Longhi suggested in 1934 and again in 1946 that parts of the mosaics in the Mascoli Chapel in San Marco once attributed to Andrea del Castagno may in fact have been designed by Andrea da Murano.

The altarpiece with the Redeemer and saints in the church of Santa Maria in Trebaseleghe (province of Padua, diocese of Treviso), which Andrea painted between 1484 and 1501, is remarkable for its elegant figural style and, notwithstanding the complex theme, its compositional clarity. His only signed and dated work, the altarpiece *Madonna Enthroned with Saints* of 1502 in the parish church at Mussolente, Vicenza, is simpler and

more provincial. The other paintings that have been attributed to Andrea, none of them with certainty, all evoke the traditional style of the Vivarini rather than Giovanni Bellini's more innovative approach.

Andrea's graphic production has yet to be investigated. The only drawing that has so far been credibly ascribed to him is a design for an altarpiece (Musée Condé, Chantilly) that has been related to the painting in the Musso-lente parish church.

Andrea da Murano(?)

14. Madonna and Child with Saint John the Evangelist

1975.I.373

Pen and blue ink, brush and blue wash. 203 x 146 mm. Vertical tear at lower center. On the recto of the old backing paper (now removed), a man's head in profile in pen and brown ink over a sketch in black chalk. On the verso of the old mount (removed), an old label with writing in pen and brown ink in an eighteenth-century hand: *Di Andrea Mantegna CLXVIII*.

The old attribution written on the mount, though certainly not correct, does reflect this drawing's many obviously "Mantegnesque" characteristics: the emphatic contours of the tall and well-modeled bodies, the carefully delineated locks of hair, the "wetted-down" drapery and the garments in the antique manner, the classical stances, and the deliberate use of *sotto in su* perspective. The question of attribution is complicated, however, by the lack of firmness in the forms, which only appear to be incisive, and the uncertain disposition of the two unrelated figures, drawn on two different planes (the Madonna seems to be tilting on her own axis), suggesting that these may perhaps be copies either from paintings or from workshop *simili* (compare No. 20). Although it is impossible to name painted prototypes, the Madonna might have been intended for the focal point of a *Sacra Conversazione*, the Saint John for the side wing of a polyptych; his sorrowful expression suggests he may have flanked a Crucifixion, where he would have pointed at another mourner or perhaps a donor.

When he exhibited the drawing in 1978 Szabo attributed it to Bartolomeo Vivarini, but with the caveat that other Venetian artists, such as Marco Zoppo, had also been proposed.¹ If we rule out all possible reference to



No. 14

Zoppo, whose style was much coarser and closer to the Ferrarese, the suggestion that the drawing came from the Veneto seems quite correct. The Saint John has a quality reminiscent of Giovanni Bellini, and the Madonna, with her almost frowning expression, recalls Bartolomeo Vivarini. Bartolomeo's figures have a similar plastic roundness, making them seem almost like bronze bas-reliefs. The way the Madonna's hands support the Child's legs recalls the similar motif in the Madonnas by Bartolomeo in the Museo Correr, Venice, and the Seattle Art Museum; her physiognomy is reminiscent of those from the Erhardt collection, Berlin; Santa Maria Formosa and Santa Eufemia, Venice; and the Galleria Colonna, Rome.² Nonetheless, these are merely isolated details that fail to add up to evidence for an attribution to either Bartolomeo or one of his better-known followers.

The blue ink and wash provide a further clue linking this sheet to the Veneto and the circle of the Vivarini. Among the many Venetian drawings in the same medium is one rather similar to ours in the Musée Condé, Chantilly (Fig. 14.1), a design for an altarpiece that is the only sheet attributable with some plausibility to Andrea da Murano.³ Our Saint John also has the general look of certain of Andrea's painted figures, for example, the Saint Paul in the altarpiece with the Madonna and saints in San Niccolò, Treviso; the Saint Roch in the altarpiece of about 1484–1501 in Santa Maria in Trebaseleghe;⁴ and the *Mourning Saint John the Evangelist*.⁵ Our drawing does not achieve the same quality as those paintings, but then that could also be said of the signed and dated



Fig. 14.1 Andrea da Murano(?), *Madonna and Child Enthroned Between Saint John the Baptist and Another Saint*. Musée Condé, Chantilly. Photograph: Giraudon/Art Resource

altarpiece of 1502 in the parish church of Mussolente (Vicenza), to which the Tietzes have rightly related the drawing in Chantilly. Even if persuasive evidence for firmly attributing the Lehman drawing to Andrea da Murano is still lacking, therefore, it can nonetheless be linked to his name in the sense that, directly or indirectly, it reflects his contribution to the local school that was ultimately dominated by the Vivarini.

NOTES:

1. Szabo suggested in a handwritten note of May 1967 (Robert Lehman Collection files) that this drawing might have something to do with Marco Zoppo, and he cited Fiocco 1954. In the library at the Harvard Center for Renaissance Studies at Villa I Tatti, Florence, the photographs of the drawing are annotated "circle of Mantegna" and "according to B[ernard] B[erenson]: Giovanni Bellini? copying Mantegna." Berenson may have given the same opinion to Robert Lehman.
2. Pallucchini n.d., nos. 155, 206, 163, 192, 157 (the Seattle painting is not catalogued). The side panels of the *Madonna della Misericordia* in Santa Maria Formosa, Venice (ibid., no. 163) should also be kept in mind as models for the figures in our drawing.
3. Musée Condé, 112; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. A2252, pl. 25,4 (as Bartolomeo Vivarini, but expressing a preference for Andrea da Murano). As the Tietzes noted, this drawing was ascribed to Giovanni Bellini when it was shown at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris in 1879, and Byam Shaw (1933, p. 36, pl. 41) has attributed it to Bartolomeo Vivarini. Andrea da Murano's name is written on a much more meager drawing, a design for a triptych also with blue ink (plus red for the architecture), in the Musée Bonnat, Bayonne (688), which the Tietzes (1944, no. 32) said "can hardly be reconciled with the paintings by Andrea." The washes of light blue ink on both these drawings are richer than that on our sheet. Other examples of drawings in light blue ink are the *Saint Catherine* in the Janos Scholz collection, New York, attributed to the circle of Bartolomeo Vivarini (Venice 1957, no. 7) and the *Apostle* in a private collection, Shropshire, that Pouncey has attributed to the same school (see Venice 1980, no. 1).

For concise information about Andrea da Murano, see Semenzato 1961; for a recent illuminating article, see De Nicolò Salmazo 1976.

4. Van Marle 1923–38, vol. 18, fig. 287; De Nicolò Salmazo 1976, *passim*.
5. Longhi 1946, p. 58, no. 55 (as Andrea da Murano; as in a private collection in the United States); Zeri 1968, fig. 3 (as Andrea da Murano; as in the Detroit Institute of Arts, but the institute has no record of it). Zeri also illustrates a *Mourning Virgin* (then in the Manning collection, Kew Gardens, New York) that he believes is from the same triptych.

PROVENANCE: Not established.

EXHIBITED: New York 1978, no. 42, ill.

LITERATURE: Szabo 1983, fig. 46.



No. 15

The Veneto

Late fifteenth century

15. Study of Two Bovine Animals

1975.I.254

Pen and brown ink. 140 x 195 mm. Two tears at upper center and one at lower right repaired; lower left corner made up. On the verso, traces of old numbers and computations in pen and brown ink and in red chalk. Watermark (fragment): lower part of an eagle.

In his brief entry in the catalogue of the New York exhibition of 1978, Szabo attributed this sheet to an anonymous Paduan of the late fifteenth century. That attribution seems too specific for a drawing of such generic definition that it is difficult even to identify the two animals.

The only drawings that seem to be related, thematically at least, are four copies, by various hands, of a lost study of two yoked oxen. The prototype may perhaps have been by an artist of the Pisanello school, or it could have been of Tuscan origin; the replicas all belong to, or at least derive from, typical International Gothic model books. Of the four, a drawing on the verso of a sheet in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam (Fig. 15.1), which Degenhart and Schmitt attributed to the Gozzoli workshop, seems closest to our study because of its schematic character.¹ Unfortunately, however, the analogies do not go beyond the theme and the use of simple outlining in pen and ink. Another replica, from the Janos Scholz collection, is now in the Pierpont Morgan Library,

New York (Fig. 15.2); the third is in the Louvre, Paris; and the fourth was in the Francis Matthiesen collection.²

This study too may derive from a prototype diffused through a model book, even though no other replicas with these same animals are known. The stiff and uncertain drawing of the hooves and the back, the way the fleece stops halfway down the body, and the lifeless head, with its erroneously placed left ear, which is also too large and protruding, all point to this being an exemplum or pattern-book drawing intended for didactic use, rather than a study from life.

The parallel hatching on the fleece and the almost engravinglike precision of the outline were perhaps what suggested a Paduan origin for this sheet. A more general attribution to the Veneto would seem preferable, however, as animals of this type appear in the backgrounds of numerous paintings from other parts of the region, many of them from the Bellini circle.

NOTES:

1. Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, sketchbook fol. 17v (with various other studies on the recto); Degenhart and Schmitt 1968, no. 450.
2. Ibid., no. 635, figs. 963, 964.

PROVENANCE: Not established.

EXHIBITED: New York 1978, no. 39, ill.



Fig. 15.1 Northern Italy, late fifteenth century(?), *Study of Two Oxen*. Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam



Fig. 15.2 Northern Italy, late fifteenth century(?), *Study of Two Oxen*. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, Janos Scholz Collection

Ferrara

Late fifteenth century

16. Saint Sebastian in a Landscape

1975.I.319

Pen and brown ink, retouched in darker brown ink. 295 x 210 mm. Torn along bottom edge.

Béguin noted the fundamental Mantegnesque origin of this figure in 1957 in her entry for the catalogue of the Paris exhibition. The head, she observed, was inspired by Mantegna's *Saint Sebastian* now in the Louvre, Paris;¹ the rope, the arrows, and the loincloth were copied from his earlier painting of the same subject in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna;² and the pose and modeling of the figure conflate Mantegna's two versions. The martyr's agonized expression, the overall severity of the linework, and the landscape, in particular the tall rock at the left and the winding road, also recall the Vienna painting. The drawing lacks the archaeological details in Mantegna's paintings, however, in which the saint is bound to a classical pillar rather than to a barren tree.

These harsh, rugged rocks and bulging hills are more typical of the Ferrarese school, hence the attribution traditionally given to the drawing. It first appeared, in fact, in Buffalo in 1935 as by Francesco del Cossa and was exhibited under his name in Cincinnati in 1959 as well, though in 1957 Béguin had thought it more prudent to ascribe the sheet, with some hesitation, to an anonymous Ferrarese master of the end of the fifteenth century, perhaps someone of Ercole de' Roberti's generation and influenced by him (see also No. 17). In 1962 Ruhmer proposed Ercole de' Roberti himself, and Szabo agreed with him both in his catalogue for the New York exhibition of 1978 and in his brief mention of the drawing in 1983 (although he did not repeat Ruhmer's supposition that here Ercole probably copied Cossa). Nonetheless, this sheet has not been included in the literature on either Cossa or Ercole.

Of the two Ferrarese masters, Ercole de' Roberti appears to have been closer to the author of this drawing. The figure's squarish features, the pronounced *sotto in su* perspective, and the clear-cut outlines (although the penwork becomes somewhat thready in the shading on the body and in the landscape) all have their counterparts in Ercole's work. The face recalls, for example, that of the Saint Petronius in the narrow pilasters of the Griffoni polyptych (Vandeghini Collection, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Ferrara),³ and the way the pen was handled

brings to mind the *Study for a Crucifixion* (Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin) that is generally attributed to Ercole in relation to the frescoes datable to 1482–86 formerly in the Garganelli Chapel in San Pietro, Bologna.⁴ The possible analogies stop there, however. The enormous disparity in quality between this drawing and the few assured sheets in the ill-defined graphic corpus of Roberti, as well as the "handwriting" in his paintings, cannot be explained as mere differences in date or medium.

That the cultural milieu that produced this drawing was Ferrarese seems beyond dispute. The landscape and, especially, the type of figure, with his high cheekbones and rather coarse face and manikinlike arms and legs, are eloquent in this respect. Added to this is an excessively naturalistic concern with anatomy that recalls certain figures in the backgrounds of the frescoes depicting the months of June, July, and August in the Palazzo Schifanoia, Ferrara (see also No. 13), which have been ascribed to the Master of the Staring Eyes or to the painter and miniaturist Antonio Cicognara.⁵ Be that as it may, here the rigidity derives more from lack of skill than from stylistic choice, and the figure is hollow, without vitality: note the inconsistent line of the chest; the way the right leg seems dissociated from the rest of the figure; the spiky yet vapid terrain; and the clouds, which give no sense of space. The small, flimsy trees, the carefully coiled curls of the saint's hair, and the broad torso in the antique manner all detract from the unpolished effects of purely Ferrarese stamp and bespeak a certain Venetian sweetness that has been exaggerated by the strong line of the retouching in darker ink. The artist seems to have absorbed elements from the art of more than one culture, perhaps through the works of miniaturists or engravers. One is reminded, for instance, of certain miniatures by Cicognara, a Cremonese active in Ferrara,⁶ and of the engravings of Nicoletto da Modena, who also worked in Ferrara.⁷

NOTES:

1. Louvre, 1373A; Lightbown 1986, no. 22, pl. 11.

2. Kunsthistorisches Museum, 301; *ibid.*, no. 10, fig. 43.



No. 16

3. Longhi 1934, pp. 54, 164; 1940, p. 6, fig. 8. Longhi, however, characterized the Griffoni polyptych as a "mischia insolubile del Cossa e di Ercole."
4. Kupferstichkabinett, KK615; recently published in Bologna 1985, ill. p. 174. See also Ruhmer 1962a, pp. 241–42, 246, n. 4, not only for the Garganelli frescoes but also for the few drawings that can be attributed to Ercole de' Roberti, which were barely touched on by Ortolani (1941) and Salmi (1960, pp. 50, 55).
5. See Salmi 1961a and 1961b, and also No. 13, note 4.
6. See Bargellesi 1981. No drawings have been attributed to Cicognara, but see the monochrome sketch of the lower part of a Franciscan monk on the verso of a *Saint Catherine of Alexandria* ascribed to him (Zeri and Rossi 1986, no. 61).
7. Nicoletto da Modena is discussed in Zucker 1984, pp. 157–61, and Bologna 1988, pp. 214–17, 246–56. Two engravings of Saint Sebastian attributed to him are not too remote from our figure. In one of them (Bartsch XIII.275.35; Hind 1938–48, vol. 5, p. 121, no. 35; Zucker 1984, no. 2508.025) the landscape is less harsh and more complex and the figure softer, but the other (Hind 1938–48, vol. 5, p. 118, no. 23; Zucker 1984, no. 2508.024) has sharp angles and a formal simplicity not unlike those in our drawing.

PROVENANCE: Not established.

EXHIBITED: Buffalo 1935, no. 12, ill.; Poughkeepsie 1942–44; Paris 1957, no. 108; Cincinnati 1959, no. 204, ill.; New York 1978, no. 25, ill.; Evanston 1988, no. 5, ill.

LITERATURE: Ruhmer 1962a, pp. 243, 244, 247, fig. 4; Szabo 1983, p. 70, fig. 43, under no. 16.

Lombardy(?)

Late fifteenth century

17. The Flagellation

1975.I.417

Point of the brush and brown and light gray ink, brown and grayish brown wash, over traces of black chalk, heightened with white (partly oxidized). 375 x 235 mm. Laid down. Vertical tear right of center; traces of staining; abrasion, small tears, and holes in various places.¹

Before 1965 this beautiful drawing was little discussed, although it had been shown at the exhibitions of 1935 and 1959 with the highly impressive attribution to Ercole de' Roberti that it had borne for nearly a century, since it was in the de Zayas collection in New York. Nonetheless, that it was not included in the monographs devoted to Ercole was an indication of the slight credence the attribution had won.² In the catalogue for the New York exhibition of 1965–66 Bean and Stampfle, though still presenting the sheet under Ercole's name, noted that Milanese as well as Ferrarese sources might be pertinent and also mentioned that Berenson had once told Robert Lehman the drawing might possibly be by Bramantino.³ When the drawing was exhibited in Los Angeles in 1976 Feinblatt listed it as by Ercole but took note of the Milanese hypothesis, as did Szabo in his entry for the catalogue of the New York exhibition of 1978. Szabo seemed to have dispelled any doubt he may have had by 1983, however, when he compared our drawing with others ascribed to Ercole's mature years.

Szabo remarked in 1983 on the artist's deliberate use of contrasts, not only between the sfumato on the head and torso of Christ and the linearity of the other figures but also between the monumental impression of the composition as a whole and the fine brushwork of the details. The contrasts lend to the scene a singularity of language that, despite its complexity, proves entirely unified. Partly because no other comparable drawings are known, it is difficult to remove the author of this sheet from the ranks of the anonymous. Richer in Lombard than specifically Milanese nuances, his artistic personality is complicated by various influences that would seem to belong to the world of miniature painters. The definite, almost incised contours and the precision of the white highlighting balance with subtle perfection the brushwork in the brownish wash and the extremely delicate sfumato, used not only on Christ's head and torso but also on the head of the man at the left, the whips,



No. 17

and the chiaroscuro effects in the background. And all this is presented with great skill worthy of a master capable of composing a coherent yet richly modulated scene on a small scale. This sheet, though it is not small (indeed, it may have even been trimmed slightly at the bottom, where Christ's foot is truncated, and at the sides, where there are glimpses of two columns that may have been cut away), has an even more monumental effect created by the solemn figure of Christ, emerging dramatically from the scene behind him, and the large column, which gives an illusion of both breadth and depth.

The column to which Christ is bound not only divides the scene in two but also lends spatial prominence to the architectural background, with its entablature and Bramantesque pilasters. Our scene may bear some relation to the much vaster architectural composition and linearly cadenced figures in the engraving of a ruined church or temple with figures that was executed by Bernardo Prevedari in 1481 after a drawing by Bramante.⁴ There are hints of Bramante's work in the general organization of our scene, which recalls the frescoes with Greek figures and busts he painted about 1480–85 in the Casa Panigarola in Milan (now in the Brera).⁵ Our drawing is also reminiscent of the *Hercules* in Berlin that is now attributed to Bramante but was once, significantly, thought to be by Bramantino (though that figure is more sculpted, or "hammered out," as it were).⁶ The full, well-modeled torso of the Christ on our sheet also recalls Bramante's *Christ at the Column* in the Brera.⁷

The sfumato, in many ways clearly an echo of Leonardo, may bring to mind certain effects in Bramantino's drawings, although his figures are quite different in type and more painterly. On the other hand, the softly luministic, almost waxy look of the drawing, which makes the figures seem sculpted in low relief, as well as the features of the soldier at the right and the poses and structure of all three bodies, with their narrow waists and slender legs, evokes the work of Lombard sculptors such as Amadeo and the Mantegazza. Although in a very different style, a marble bas-relief (now in the Museo della Certosa, Pavia) depicting the Flagellation that has been attributed to Antonio and Cristoforo Mantegazza is not without some analogy to our drawing:⁸ not only are the

figures similarly placed but the two men with whips are costumed in the same rather strange way, one in raggedy "civilian" garb, the other in Roman-style armor and a beretlike helmet of the very sort found in Lombard as well as Ferrarese figurations.

Although Ferrara has usually been suggested in connection with this drawing, such penetrating Leonardism and Bramantesque monumentality can be found neither in Ferrarese paintings nor in the few drawings of that school, particularly those attributed to Ercole de' Roberti (see also No. 16). Certainly there was no lack of artistic give and take between Ferrara and Lombardy, largely through miniaturists like Marmitta, who was from Parma but trained in Ferrara, and Matteo da Milano, who worked for Ercole I d'Este.⁹

NOTES:

1. The oft-noted pentimento on the left-hand part of Christ's chest is in fact a long tear in the paper, now restored, which by and large followed the line of the original contour drawn in ink.
2. Like No. 16, this drawing is cited in neither Ortolani 1941 nor Salmi 1960.
3. An undated note in the Robert Lehman Collection files refers to a letter from Berenson. The photograph is filed under Bramantino, though with some doubt, in the library at the Harvard Center for Renaissance Studies at Villa I Tatti, Florence.
4. Hind 1938–48, vol. 5, pp. 101–4, no. 1; Suida 1953, pp. 13–15, figs. 7–11. See also Metternich 1967–68.
5. Suida 1953, pp. 18–21, 229, figs. 21–28.
6. Kupferstichkabinett, KK 573.1882.2429; *ibid.*, pp. 29–30, 229, fig. 37.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 64, 229, fig. 1.
8. Milan 1958, nos. 423–25.
9. For these two miniaturists, see Salmi 1961a, pp. 52ff.

PROVENANCE: August Grahl, Dresden (Lugt 1199); Grahl sale 1885, lot 340 (as "Venetian School"); Marius de Zayas, New York; de Zayas sale 1923, lot 75, ill. p. 11; Alphonse Kann, New York.

EXHIBITED: Buffalo 1935, no. 13, ill.; Northampton (Mass.) 1942–44; Cincinnati 1959, no. 209, ill.; New York 1965–66, no. 20; Los Angeles 1976, no. 77, ill.; New York 1978, no. 24, ill.

LITERATURE: Szabo 1983, no. 16, ill.

The Veneto

Early sixteenth century

18. The Flagellation

1975.1.374

Metalpoint, brush and gray wash, touches of white, on gray prepared paper. 279 x 176 mm. Two vertical folds at left and right. Annotated in pencil in an eighteenth-century hand at the lower left, in part written over an earlier annotation: *Egalement au Verso deux superbes dessins du Maître*. At the right, two small drawings in black chalk of a bowknot or flower, perhaps a collector's mark.

Verso: Two seated soldiers, studies for a Resurrection. Metalpoint, brush and yellowish wash, heightened with white, on grayish rose prepared paper; figures silhouetted with grayish rose wash. Annotated in pencil at top center: 670.

The old annotation and the Calando collection signet (which appears on both sides) attest to the interest this fine sheet must have elicited from earlier collectors, which makes it even stranger that it has had so little attention from modern scholars. The drawing was discussed only briefly by Szabo when it was exhibited in New York in 1979, and it has not been included in any of the traveling exhibitions of the Robert Lehman Collection.

Although it is delicately and meticulously executed in a technique that demands great precision, this drawing seems to be not a *modello* for a particular painting but a *simile*, one of the studies of subjects and compositions copied from other masters that artists kept in their workshops as examples to be repeated as the occasion demanded in different works. One has this impression not so much because the figures are somewhat stiff and seem almost frozen in their poses, as one expects in copies (even good ones like this), as because of the lack of spatial relation between the figures on the verso, even though both were obviously intended for a Resurrection. These look more like stock figures derived from examples by the head of a school. Who that master might have been is hard to say, however.

It is unfortunately still impossible to rescue this notable drawing from anonymity. These figures have no direct parallels in paintings that can be related in time and style, and, furthermore, the Flagellation and Resurrection were represented rather infrequently. The eighteenth-century writing at the bottom assigns both sides of the sheet to the same hand, but the name of the master can no longer be made out, and the writing has completely

obscured an earlier annotation. The drawing appeared at the Calando sale in 1899 with an obviously absurd attribution to Filippino Lippi. In the catalogue of the Oppenheimer sale in 1936, where Robert Lehman acquired it, it was said to have been traditionally attributed to Bramantino,¹ but it was thought to “show distinctly the draughtsman’s dependance from Mantegna”; the *Bacchanale* in the same lot was also ascribed to a follower of Mantegna. With rather more justification Szabo published the Lehman sheet in 1979 as Venetian, from the first decades of the sixteenth century and influenced by Mantegna.

There may be a clue to this sheet’s origin in the compositional relationship of the drawing on the recto to the flagellated Christ on an earlier sheet, done in pen and brown ink, in the Art Museum, Princeton University,² which Gibbons has published as by Bartolomeo Vivarini; the same sheet also depicts a Crucifixion and a Deposition, Passion themes to which a Resurrection might easily have belonged as well. Aside from the different medium, however, the workmanship here is softer and, as regards lighting, purer than in the Princeton drawing. The explanation for this might be found in the later works of Giovanni Bellini, for it is in fact of Bellini, more than of his brother-in-law and teacher Mantegna, that we are reminded by the execution of the shadows and outlines, even in those elements more obviously recalling Mantegna, such as the fluttering, ribbonlike hair and the wetted-down look of the drapery. There is also a Bellinesque quality in the lack of harshness in these bodies, with their studied anatomy and the relaxed feeling of their poses, despite their rather rigidly fixed expressions and gestures.

Precisely this Mantegnesque character in a sweetened guise may have been what in the past suggested the Lombard world and Bramantino. Then too, the technique of metalpoint with white on prepared paper (here the same on the recto and verso, apart from the different colors of the preparation), still linked to the Quattrocento, was certainly not common in the Veneto; only a few Venetian examples, from the Bellini school, are known. Nonetheless, although I can point to nothing truly similar in style and technique, I find it difficult to think of this sheet as coming from outside the Veneto, certainly the mainland if not the lagoon itself.



No. 18, recto



No. 18, *verso*

NOTES:

1. One print of the photograph in the Harvard Center for Renaissance Studies at Villa I Tatti, Florence, is filed under Bramantino; another is marked "Mantegna follower."
2. Art Museum, Princeton University, 63.31, *Studies of Christ Flagellated, Christ Crucified, the Good Thief, Christ of the Lamentation and Heads of Christ and Saint John the Evangelist*; Gibbons 1966, no. 699, ill.

PROVENANCE: E. Calando, Paris (Lugt 837); Calando sale 1899, lot 124; John Postle Heseltine, London (Lugt 1507); Henry Oppenheimer, London; Oppenheimer sale 1936, lot 119. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1936.

EXHIBITED: Northampton (Mass.) 1942–44; New York 1979, nos. 27A, B, ill.

The Veneto

Early sixteenth century

19. Landscape with Figure

1975.I.275

Pen and brown ink. 178 x 211 mm. Left edge and lower right corner made up; various small holes restored.

As one of the earliest examples of pure landscape in Italian art, this sheet is among the best-known drawings in the Robert Lehman Collection. Like many other old drawings, however, it is difficult to attribute, and the many scholars who have discussed it have suggested authors ranging from the Florentine Piero di Cosimo to Venetian artists like Giovanni Bellini, Bartolomeo Montagna, and Alvise Vivarini.

Berenson ascribed the sheet to Piero di Cosimo in 1938 and again in 1961, comparing it to two landscape drawings in the Uffizi, Florence, that are more certainly attributed to Piero.¹ Douglas included our drawing in the monograph he published on Piero in 1946, but aside from that and the brief mentions in the Northampton and Boston exhibitions in the 1940s, the attribution had little impact. In fact, our drawing has only its subject matter in common with the two Uffizi drawings; in technique and style both differ profoundly from the Lehman sheet, and they are less "picturesque."

The attribution to the Venetian school of the early sixteenth century, proposed when the drawing first appeared on the market and became known to scholars at the Grassi sale in 1924, is much more convincing and has been far

more widely accepted. The prudence that kept the drawing among the anonymous works in the sale was justified, for very few drawings with credible attributions can be related to this one, and no comparison stands up to careful scrutiny.

The same prudence is found in Béguin's excellent entry for the catalogue of the Paris exhibition of 1957, where the drawing was ascribed to a Venetian master of about 1500. Béguin argued that the free line, the picturesque liveliness of the shading, and a strong Flemish influence all bring to mind an artist of Giorgione's generation who was close to Giovanni Bellini and using motifs recalling Marco Basaiti. She also brought up the question of the identity of the figure sitting writing at the left, whom she thought was probably Saint Jerome but could also be Saint John on Patmos. Although at first glance the figure does appear to be Saint Jerome, his usual attributes, the lion and the cardinal's hat, are missing, as Béguin noted. But to be Saint John on Patmos he would need the emblematic eagle and a marine landscape. (The left edge of the sheet appears to have been trimmed at an early date, and it is possible that the figure's attributes were cut away.)

The issues Béguin raised were all to be discussed and expanded, though never definitively resolved, in the subsequent literature. In the catalogues of the Cincinnati and New Haven exhibitions the drawing was listed under Giovanni Bellini. In 1960, in his discussion of the *Saint Francis in a Landscape* in the Musée Bonnat, Bayonne,² Bean considered the Lehman sheet to be from the Venetian school of about 1500. In 1962 both Heinemann and Puppi, with good reason, categorically ruled out Bellini. Heinemann, who called the drawing *Saint John on Patmos*, noted that "la composizione ricorda Bartolomeo Montagna," and Puppi noted its relation to Montagna's painting *Saint Jerome* in the Brera, Milan. I can see no similarity in either style or technique between this sheet and the drawings Puppi has convincingly assigned to Montagna. When he reviewed Puppi's book in 1967 Gilbert put forward the interesting notion that the Lehman drawing "is somewhat near Previtali," but here we are well and truly in the field of hypothesis because so little is known of Previtali's drawings.³ Gilbert cited the *Saint Jerome in a Landscape* in the Schwarz collection, New York, as the closest parallel to the Lehman sheet, but again the comparison does not hold up; the linework here is more intense and the overall feeling is easier and freer, without the Campagnola-like touch that pervades the Schwarz drawing.⁴



No. 19

Although Bean and Stampfle catalogued the drawing under Giovanni Bellini when it was exhibited in New York in 1965–66, in their entry they found it “best to follow [Béguin] . . . and speak only of a Venetian master who was of the generation of Giorgione and influenced by Giovanni Bellini.” They pointed out as well that the half-timbered buildings may have been “inspired by Northern models, known perhaps by prints” and noted that the landscape drawing in the Musée Bonnat and the two in the Uffizi are in fact quite different from the Lehman drawing, “sharing only the distinction of their earliness.”

In 1968 Ważbiński repeated Puppi’s Montagna theory, but in keeping with the focus of his article he stressed the iconographical problem, identifying the figure as Saint Jerome, a symbol of the solitary life. Pignatti, in his entry for the catalogue of the exhibition that opened in Washington, D.C., in 1974, returned once again to Béguin’s hypothesis of an artist in the Giorgione circle, naming as possibilities Giorgione, Giulio and Domenico Campagnola, Lorenzo Lotto, and Titian, all of whom, he said, were more likely than Bellini to have used foreign motifs like the Northern buildings. (Pignatti did not include the Lehman drawing in his own monograph on Giorgione.) For the catalogue of the Los Angeles exhibition of 1976 Feinblatt returned to Bellini. In 1977 Ragghianti came up with a new name, Alvise Vivarini, but that artist’s graphic oeuvre has yet to be established, and I can think of no possible comparisons with his paintings.⁵

The monumentality of the landscape, with the high horizon and the steep cliff to the left topped by a precarious outcrop, does recall Basaiti, as Béguin suggested. She had in mind the backgrounds in the two paintings of the calling of the sons of Zebedeus, both of 1510, in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, and the Accademia, Venice, and the background in the *Sacra Conversazione* in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Particularly interesting is a comparison between our drawing and a small panel showing Saint Jerome in a landscape (which is probably the true subject of our sheet) that appeared on the New York art market in 1966.⁶ That painting, which is signed by Basaiti, shares with the drawing the arrangement of the left foreground, the movement of the river, and even the ducks swimming in the water. Basaiti’s graphic production is still too uncertain and restricted, however, to allow his name to be advanced here.⁷

As is apparent from the number of names proposed, none of them convincing, and from the scarcity of plausible comparisons, it is possible to define this drawing

only in terms of a general place and time. In spite of its Venetian appearance, it is unusual enough for that world to suggest instead a Florentine artist like the eccentric Piero di Cosimo. Much more probable, however, is some similarly eccentric artist from the Veneto, most likely from the mainland, someone who, while echoing Bellini, Giorgione, and Campagnola, did not disdain a shadowy, dense treatment like that produced by the reed pen favored by Carpaccio – which brings to mind the sensibility of Lorenzo Lotto.

NOTES:

1. Uffizi, 7P, 403P (both depicting Saint Jerome in a landscape); Berenson 1961, nos. 1858, 1859, fig. 348; see also Bacci 1966, p. 112, and Florence 1980b, no. 373. The F.A.R.L. photograph of the Lehman drawing (3131) is filed under Piero di Cosimo but bears a note by R. Offner: “possibly North Italian, 16th century.”
2. Musée Bonnat, 1213; Berenson 1938, no. 1848B; Bean 1960, no. 110, ill. (as Piero di Cosimo); Berenson 1961, no. 1848C.
3. See Florence 1976b, no. 13, and also Meyer zur Capellen 1972. The Northern manner and the landscape fading away into the distance in a *Village Scene* in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (KdZ5130) that has been ascribed to Andrea Previtali by both the Tietzes (1944, no. 1370, pl. 44,2) and Oberhuber (Venice 1976a, no. 7) do bear some relation to his paintings, but this has little to do with our sheet.
4. Tietze and Tietze-Conrat (1944, no. 713, pl. 49) suggested this drawing is by Giorgione and dates to about 1505; Pignatti (Washington, D.C.–Fort Worth–Saint Louis 1974–75, under no. 7) prefers an attribution to Giulio Campagnola.
5. For drawings by Alvise Vivarini, see Pallucchini n.d., Gibbons 1966, and Byam Shaw 1983, no. 221.
6. Sale, Christie’s, New York, July 16, 1966, lot 26.
7. For Basaiti and his rare drawings, see Bonario 1983. The sole landscape generally linked to his name, a watercolor in the Uffizi (1700F; Florence 1976b, no. 12), is too different in technique to serve as a valid comparison.

PROVENANCE: Luigi Grassi, Florence (Lugt Suppl. 1171b); Frits Lugt, Paris; Grassi sale 1924, lot 147, ill.

EXHIBITED: Northampton (Mass.) 1941, no. 44, and 1942–44; Boston 1945; Paris 1957, no. 112; Cincinnati 1959, no. 201, ill.; New Haven 1960, no. 159, ill.; New York 1965–66, no. 4, ill.; Washington, D.C.–Fort Worth–Saint Louis 1974–75, no. 7, ill.; Los Angeles 1976, no. 37, ill.; New York 1979, no. 26, ill.; Evanston 1988, no. 3, ill.

LITERATURE: Berenson 1938, no. 1859J, fig. 429; Douglas 1946, p. 128, pl. 80; Bean 1960, under no. 110; Berenson 1961, no. 1859J, fig. 346; Heinemann [1962], p. 286, no. v.467; Puppi 1962, p. 148, fig. 107; Gilbert 1967, p. 186; Ważbiński 1968, p. 6, fig. 8; Ragghianti 1977, p. 132, fig. 28; Rochester 1981–82, fig. 9; Szabo 1983, no. 40, ill.

Andrea Busati

Documented Venice 1503–1528

Andrea Busati (also spelled Bussati or Busatti) is recorded as a painter in Venice in documents ranging in date from 1503 to 1528 (the year that appears with his signature on his will). Although he styled himself a pupil of Giovanni Bellini's, his known works show him more frequently repeating modes and motifs of Cima da Conegliano, whose style still belonged entirely to the Quattrocento. Busati's *Saint Anthony of Padua* (Museo Civico, Vicenza) is clearly derived from the image of the saint in the polyptych by Cima that is now in Miglionico (Matera), and his *Lamentation over the Dead Christ* (National Gallery, London) imitates Cima's painting on that subject in the Galleria Estense, Modena. Busati clung to Cima's approach well into the sixteenth century. The same style, with pronounced echoes of Giovanni Bellini, is still evident in late works such as the *Saint Mark Enthroned Between Saints Andrew and Francis* in the Accademia, Venice. The Lehman drawing, which is related to the painting in the Accademia, is the only one that can so far be plausibly ascribed to Busati.

Andrea Busati(?)

20. Saint Francis

1975.1.273

Red chalk (wetted in part). Original sheet (irregular at the top): 203 x 87 mm; old backing: 210 x 87 mm. Torn and repaired; made up at the top (the head is clipped through at the forehead).

That the friar represented here is Saint Francis is indicated by the stigmata on his left hand. Similar depictions of the saint, inspired by the figure in Giovanni Bellini's *Coronation of the Virgin* of about 1475 (Museo Civico, Pesaro),¹ appear frequently in Venetian paintings of the close of the Quattrocento and the beginning of the Cinquecento.

This drawing has traditionally been connected with Bellini, and Vaughan even called it a work by Bellini in a glowing notice in *Art News* in 1943, when the sheet was included in an exhibition of old master drawings at the Durlacher Galleries in New York. In 1956, a few months before Robert Lehman acquired it from them, Durlacher Galleries advised him that the drawing is also related to



No. 20



Fig. 20.1 Giovanni Bellini, *Saints John the Baptist, Jerome, and Francis*. Formerly Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, Berlin. Photograph: Fritz Heinemann, *Giovanni Bellini e i Belliniani* (Venice: Pozza, [1962]), fig. 281

Giovanni Bellini's triptych *Saints John the Baptist, Jerome, and Francis* (Fig. 20.1), which was once in San Cristoforo, Venice, and was later in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, Berlin, where it was destroyed during World War II.² An analogous figure did in fact appear in the right wing of the triptych, which has been attributed to Cima and Basaiti as well as to Bellini himself.

In his monograph on Bellini, Robertson held that this drawing was derived from the Berlin triptych.³ Earlier, the Tietzes had thought this might be a workshop copy, and they related it to two drawings in the Louvre, one a *Saint Francis* that conflates the figure in the Berlin triptych and the Saint Francis in Bellini's *Coronation of the Virgin* in Pesaro, the other a copy of the Saint Jerome in the Berlin triptych.⁴ They catalogued the Lehman drawing, as well as the two in the Louvre, as "school of Giovanni Bellini." In 1962 Heinemann, too, listed the three drawings as copies after the Berlin triptych.⁵ The Lehman drawing and the Louvre *Saint Francis*, which has been attributed to Bartolomeo Montagna, to Cima, and to Busati, are in fact similar, but the *Saint Jerome*, generally ascribed to Montagna, bears no stylistic resemblance to either of them.

None of the scholars who have mentioned this drawing, however, have remarked its relation to another painting, one of the few known works by Andrea Busati.⁶ A handwritten note in the Robert Lehman Collection files signals the connection between this figure and the saint to the right in Busati's *Saint Mark Enthroned Between Saints Andrew and Francis* in the Accademia, Venice (Fig. 20.2), which has been dated by various scholars to 1503, 1515–20, 1530, and 1532.⁷ Our Saint Francis and the figure in the painting have similar round, heavy heads (although our figure's chin is a little less pointed) that are too large for their slender bodies (our figure is a little squatter), and the frocks of both have the same perpendicular folds just above the feet, which are somewhat uncertainly poised on the ground. Moreover, the step at the left in the drawing corresponds to the steps of the throne in the painting. The direction of the figure's shadow is reversed in the drawing, perhaps not only because the artist had not yet settled on how the light would fall on the figure when it was set in the broad landscape of the painting but also because he was recalling the figure in the Bellini triptych.

Given its clear derivation from the Bellini triptych, our drawing would appear to be a *simile*, the Tietzes' term for drawings of isolated figures copied from illustrious prototypes that could be adapted for different types of paintings on various themes; *simili* were often used by Venetian artists, especially those of less than major stature. That this drawing is a *simile* is also borne out by its relationship to the two Louvre sheets. Yet it is precisely the comparison with those drawings that reveals in ours



Fig. 20.2 Andrea Busati, *Saint Mark Enthroned Between Saints Andrew and Francis*. Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice. Photograph: Soprintendenza ai Beni Artistici e Storici, Venice

an ingenuous freshness that rules out its being merely a good copy and qualifies it instead as a preparatory study. And this is reinforced by the red chalk, an unusual medium rich in possibilities that are more pictorial than strictly graphic.

With all due caution, therefore, we can hypothesize that our drawing may be attributed to Busati and that it was a study for one of the few paintings that can be given to him with any certainty.⁸ As such, it deserves somewhat more esteem than it has so far been given, having been relegated to the anonymity of the Bellini workshop. Also deserving of higher praise is a certain element of neatness and simplicity that brings this figure very close to the manner of Cima, whom Busati always recalls, even if he did declare himself Bellini's pupil.

NOTES:

1. Gronau 1930, pls. 48–55; Heinemann [1962], no. 208, fig. 42; and elsewhere.
2. In a letter of May 28, 1956 (Robert Lehman Collection files), George E. Dix of Durlacher Brothers informed Robert Lehman that the drawing was preparatory to the painting by Bellini in Berlin and enclosed a photograph of it that Mr. Lehman could forward to Berenson. For the painting, see Gronau 1930, pl. 148 and p. 214; Heinemann [1962], no. 231, fig. 281; and Robertson (1968) 1981, pl. 104. Tietze and Tietze-Conrat (1944, under no. 345) noted that the painting was attributed to Cima by Boschini in the seventeenth century and was later ascribed to Basaiti; they cite Gronau (1928, p. 8) for the attribution to Bellini.
3. Robertson suggested as well that the Lehman drawing is the same one the Tietzes published in 1944 (no. 345; not illustrated) as being with the Spanish Gallery in London. Our drawing does indeed correspond in theme, medium, and measurements to that sheet, which, as the Tietzes pointed out, was mentioned by Gronau in 1930. (Gronau [1930, p. 214, note to pl. 148] referred to our drawing, then on the art market in London, as being in red chalk, and he considered it to be a copy after the Saint Francis in the Berlin triptych.)
4. Louvre, 5603, 5604; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, nos. 348 (pl. 38,2), 349. The *Saint Francis* was ascribed to Montagna with some doubt by Puppi (1962, p. 151), to Cima by Menegazzi (1981, p. 148) and Humfrey (1983, no. 195), and to Busati by Heinemann ([1962], see note 5 below). Although the figure corresponds iconographically to ours, the saint holds the book, which is closed, in his left hand, and the cross, which is made of branches, in his right. The *Saint Jerome* has been ascribed to Montagna by Puppi (1962, p. 151) and Humfrey (1983, p. 175).
5. Heinemann ([1962], no. 231) gives an extensive list of copies after the Bellini triptych formerly in Berlin. The Louvre *Saint Francis*, ascribed to Busati, is his copy g (figs. 396 [an unidentified painting by Busati], 397), and the *Saint Jerome*, given to Montagna, is p (fig. 812). Our drawing is listed twice, as copies h (as in the Durlacher collection, London, of which Heinemann had seen only a photograph) and i (as formerly in the collection of Tomas Harris, Spanish Gallery, London, which he had not seen), both times as from the school of Giovanni Bellini.
6. On Busati, see Menegazzi 1972 and Davies 1961, pp. 129–30.
7. Accademia, 81; Moschini Marconi 1955, no. 93; Heinemann [1962], under no. 231, copy e, fig. 398; Humfrey 1983, p. 190, n. 230. The numerous indications of an origin in the Veneto were, oddly enough, overlooked by Szabo, who published the drawing in the catalogue of the New York exhibition of 1978 as by an unknown Sieneese of the end of the fifteenth century, having been led to that conclusion by the use of red chalk (although red chalk is no less rare in Sieneese drawings of that time than in Venetian ones).
8. Rearick (oral communication, 1986) agrees that this drawing is probably by Busati.

PROVENANCE: Provenance before 1930 not established; [Tomas Harris, Spanish Gallery, London]; [Durlacher Galleries, New York]. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1956.

EXHIBITED: Durlacher Galleries, New York, November 1943; New York 1978, no. 40, ill.

LITERATURE: Gronau 1930, p. 214, note to pl. 148; Vaughan 1943, ill.; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 345; Heinemann [1962], under no. 231, copies h and i; Robertson (1968) 1981, p. 121, n. 1.

Cristoforo Caselli

(also called Cristoforo Parmense, Cristoforo da Parma, or Cristoforo Temperelli)

Parma ca. 1460–Parma 1521

Before the advent of Correggio and the Mannerist followers of Parmigianino, Cristoforo Caselli and Alessandro Araldi, who was probably Caselli's pupil, were the leading figures in Parmese painting. Caselli's father, Giovanni di Cristoforo, may have been a painter, and Caselli may have been a pupil of Jacopo Loschi's, but nothing more is known about his training and his early career in Parma. Caselli is first recorded in Venice in 1488. In 1489 he began work alongside Giovanni Bellini, Alvise Vivarini, and other painters on the decoration of the Sala del Maggior Consiglio in the Palazzo Ducale (the paintings were destroyed by fire in 1577). His work on the palazzo may have continued until 1495, the year Caselli signed and dated the triptych he painted for San Cipriano in Murano, the timorous but limpid *Madonna Enthroned with a Donor and Two Monastic Saints* now in the Seminario Patriarcale, Venice.

By the time Caselli returned to Parma, probably in 1496, when he signed a contract to create an altarpiece for Parma Cathedral, he had already adopted the eclectic but highly personal style that makes his paintings so easily recognizable. For although he was to spend many years working on commissions in Parma and other parts of Lombardy and Emilia, he remained faithful to what he had learned in Venice, from Alvise Vivarini, Vittore Carpaccio, and, to a lesser extent, Giovanni Bellini. Caselli's strong sense of modeling, derived from Antonello, at times recalls Cima, though in a lesser vein. His taste in narrative, however, could have come only from Carpaccio, despite the occasional motif borrowed from the Emilians Lorenzo Costa and Francesco Francia.

The influence of Antonello and the Venetians is unmistakable in the altarpiece Caselli painted for the cathedral in Parma, the beautiful *Madonna Enthroned with Saint Hilary, Saint John the Baptist, and Angels* (now in the Galleria Nazionale, Parma) that is signed and dated 1499. And the same is true of his *Adoration of the Magi* of 1499 in San Giovanni Evangelista in Parma, the polyptych (now dismantled) probably of the same year with Saint Peter enthroned flanked by four saints that he painted for the parish church of Almenno San Bartolomeo (Bergamo), and the *Nativity* of 1502 in Castell'Arquato (Piacenza).

Caselli is not known as a draftsman; his graphic oeuvre can be reconstructed only through comparisons with his paintings.

Cristoforo Caselli(?)

21. Head of a Youth with a Diadem

1975.1.279

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, red and blue watercolor, on tinted paper. 176 x 143 mm. Rounded at the top. Later retouching on the nose; the dark blue marks on the forehead, mouth, and neck may also be a later addition. Annotated in pen and black ink at the lower right in an eighteenth-century hand: *Mantegna*. On the verso, which is coated lightly with black chalk, an annotation in pencil in a modern hand: *Goldman*.

Perhaps because it has been difficult to place in a precise cultural context, this fine drawing has been given little attention since it appeared in the Grassi sale in 1924. The eighteenth-century annotation at the lower right no doubt determined the drawing's attribution in the Grassi sale catalogue. Lugt also referred to it as by Mantegna when he listed it in his summary of the sale in 1956.

Certainly there are Mantegnesque elements in this drawing, among them the roundish shape and slightly *sotto in su* treatment of the face and, even more so, the ringlets, with each strand of hair separately delineated in the antique fashion. Yet other, no less obvious details point to the Venice area, specifically to an artist, like Mocetto, who was conversant with engravers on the periphery of the circles of the Bellini and the Vivarini. The surfaces here are treated in a softer manner and the outlining is less incisive than in more direct products of the Mantegna school. In any case, it is to the Veneto that the few scholars who have ventured opinions on the sheet have looked for possible authors.

The catalogue of the Cincinnati exhibition of 1959 illustrated the drawing as by the Veronese Francesco Bonsignori, a name Berenson had also suggested in a note in his copy of the Grassi sale catalogue. And when the drawing was exhibited in New York in 1978 Szabo presented it as definitely by Bonsignori. There is little



No. 21

evidence, however, to support an attribution to Bonsignori, to whom only a few drawings, nearly all portraits, have been ascribed with any assurance.¹ Our drawing is certainly not a portrait; whether an angel or a saint, it would fit well into a number of compositional themes. And the workmanship here differs markedly from Bonsignori's naturalistic approach. The only drawings attributed to him that might offer some possible points of comparison are the study of the heads of a woman and child in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, and, less so, the *Saint Christopher* once owned by Charles Loeser and now in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge. But neither of those drawings provides a secure basis for assigning our sheet to Bonsignori: Ruhmer considered the sheet in Rotterdam, at best, a copy after Mantegna by Ercole de' Roberti,² and though the *Saint Christopher* has recently been ascribed to the mature Bonsignori, it has had a number of other attributions.³

In 1961 Ursula B. Schmitt excluded this drawing from



Fig. 21.1 Attributed to Bartolomeo Montagna, *Head of the Madonna*. Present location unknown. Photograph: Lionello Puppi, *Bartolomeo Montagna* (Venice: Pozza, 1962), fig. 50

Bonsignori's graphic oeuvre and suggested instead that it belongs to the circle of Bernardo Parentino, based on its similarity to the painting *The Musicians* in the Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.⁴ But this drawing is nothing like those attributed to Parentino, and neither does it show any sign of the archaic elements Parentino derived from Squarcione and the Ferrarese.

Heinemann thought the Lehman drawing might be the work of the so-called Vincenzo di Gerolamo, who is said to have been an assistant to Gerolamo da Santacroce and to have been influenced by Cima and Vincenzo Catena. The reference to Catena and his school is not entirely without merit. Our drawing does recall such sheets as the *Madonna and Child with the Young Saint John the Baptist* in the Albertina, Vienna, which has been attributed to Catena and may in fact be a Catena school product (although it has been given a number of other attributions, among them to Bonsignori).⁵ The chiaroscuro and the plump, childish face framed by wood-shaving curls in another drawing ascribed to Catena, the *Head of a Child* in the Musée Bonnat, Bayonne, also bear some resemblance to our sheet.⁶

Another drawing that might be considered analogous to ours is the *Saint Catherine of Alexandria* in the Janos Scholz collection, New York, attributed to the circle of Bartolomeo Vivarini.⁷ Much more compelling, however, indeed almost enough so as to suggest the same hand, is our drawing's similarity to a *Head of the Madonna* (Fig. 21.1) purportedly once in the Dubini collection, Milan, that Puppi has attributed to Bartolomeo Montagna.⁸ The Madonna's eyebrows, nose, and double chin, as well as a certain softness in the technique, all resemble our drawing.

It thus seems better to see our author not so much as a Venetian directly influenced by Bellini but as an artist receptive to a variety of ideas who was exposed to the composite culture of the Veneto and whose work retained traces of the art of the mainland and of the true and proper Paduan hinterland. We can also hypothesize that this artist was active at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century. This would lend some support to Rearick's suggestion, seconded by Tempestini, that the Lehman drawing might be by the Venetian-oriented Parmese artist Cristoforo Caselli.⁹ No other drawings by Caselli are known, but this youth's affinity to figures in certain of his paintings is striking. The infant in the *Madonna and Child* in the Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, has the same double chin;¹⁰ the angels in the *Madonna and Child with Two Angels* (Fig. 21.2) that



Fig. 21.2 Cristoforo Caselli, *Madonna and Child with Two Angels*. Formerly Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, Berlin. Photograph: Evelyn Sandberg Vavalà in *Art in America* 20 (1932), p. 195, fig. 1

was in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in Berlin and was destroyed in 1945 have the same firmly drawn eyebrows;¹¹ and the angels in the *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saint Hilary, Saint John the Baptist, and Angels* of 1499, in the Galleria Nazionale, Parma, have the same tightly coiled curls.¹²

NOTES:

1. For Bonsignori's drawings, see U. B. Schmitt 1961 and Lehman Brockhaus in Brugnoli et al. 1974, pp. 113–22.
2. Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, 578 (with a study for the head of an old woman and other sketches on the recto); Mantua 1961, no. 139; Ruhmer 1962a, p. 244, fig. 6.
3. Fogg Art Museum, 1932.122; Oberhuber 1979, no. 6. Oberhuber noted that it was Hans Peters who suggested Bonsignori.
4. No one else appears to have accepted the attribution of the Lehman drawing to Parentino (see Gobiet 1974). For other drawings referred to Parentino, see No. 11, notes 20–24 and Fig. 11.4.
5. Albertina, 27; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. A653 (with a list of other attributions); Robertson 1954, p. 77 (as school of Catena). According to the Tietzes, it was Stix and Fröhlich-Bum (1926, no. 327) who believed the drawing to be by Bonsignori.
6. Musée Bonnat, 693; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. A652. Despite the child's similarity to the infant in Catena's *Circumcision*, which exists in several versions (one of which, attributed to the school of Giovanni Bellini, is in the Metropolitan Museum, 17.190.9; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 9, vol. 2, ill. p. 116), the Tietzes considered the Bayonne drawing a *simile* typical of the school of Mantegna. Bean (1960, no. 176) attributed it to Torbido.
7. Muraro (Venice 1957, no. 7, ill.) has pointed out that although Degenhart (1950, p. 3) ascribed the *Saint Catherine* to Jacopo da Montagnana, it "should be studied instead in connection with Muranese art" and can be compared with works attributed to Bartolomeo Vivarini, Antonio da Murano, and, especially, Ruggeri Veneziano.
8. Puppi 1962, pp. 147–48, fig. 50; sale, Sotheby's, Florence, September 30, 1986, lot 429, ill. Puppi considered this a study for the head of the Virgin in Montagna's altarpiece in the church of the Castello at San Giovanni Ilarione, near Vicenza.
9. Oral communication, 1986. On Caselli, see Tempestini 1978 (with full bibliography).
10. The painting in Bergamo is said to be part of the now-dismantled polyptych with Saint Peter enthroned that Caselli painted for the parish church of Almenno San Bartolomeo about 1499; see Godi 1977, p. 59, fig. 1.
11. Sandberg Vavalà 1932, fig. 1. Sandberg Vavalà (fig. 2) also includes a detail of the triptych of 1495 now in the Seminario Patriarcale, Venice.
12. *Ibid.*, fig. 3; see also Heinemann [1962], no. s.85, fig. 293 (detail). Heinemann (no. s.89, fig. 292) also illustrates parts of the now-dismantled polyptych Caselli painted in 1499 for the parish church of Almenno San Bartolomeo (Bergamo).

PROVENANCE: Luigi Grassi, Florence (Lugt Suppl. 1171b); Frits Lugt, Paris; Grassi sale 1924, lot 100, ill. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1924.

EXHIBITED: New York 1925, no. 19; Northampton (Mass.) 1942–44; Cincinnati 1959, no. 208, ill.; New York 1978, no. 36, ill.

LITERATURE: Lugt 1956, p. 171, under 1171b; U. B. Schmitt 1961, no. 104; Heinemann [1962], addenda p. 308.

Lombardy

Early sixteenth century

22. Design for a Funeral Monument

1975.I.419

Pen and ink in two shades of brown, brush and brown washes. 296 x 154 mm. Annotated in brown ink at the lower right in a sixteenth-century hand: *mantenia*. Watermark: scales in a circle (similar to Briquet 2551).

Evidently a study for a wall tomb, this drawing must be either the final design shown to a patron, a copy of that design, or, perhaps, a rendering of a finished monument. Care has been taken to show the figures, scenes, and other decorative motifs in some detail, and the ground behind them is shaded with great precision, in the same ink that was used for the hatching that makes the monument appear to stand away from the wall.

The bust in the tondo at the center is undoubtedly a portrait of the deceased. It was probably, like the ornamental motifs and narrative scenes, meant to be executed in bas-relief. The figures on the coping – the Virgin and Child flanked by two putti holding torches and, to the left, a woman with a cross who must be Faith and, to the right, an angel in supplication who might represent Hope – must have been conceived as statues in high relief, with the Madonna almost fully in the round. The roundels at the upper corners of the center panel contain the angel Gabriel and the Virgin Annunciate; those at the bottom represent the Creation of Adam and Eve. The figures in the eight square compartments surrounding the portrait might be Prophets and Sibyls with appropriate instruments and symbols.¹ In the band below, which functions as a predella, is a depiction of the moment in the Last Judgment when the angels and demons separate the Blessed from the Damned.

Szabo saw in this study “a compendium in miniature . . . of the achievements as a sculptor, bronze caster, medalist, and student of classical antiquity” of Gian Cristoforo Romano (before 1470–1512), who was born and trained in Rome but worked at Ferrara and in Lombardy during the last years of the fifteenth and the early part of the sixteenth century.² None of the works securely ascribed to Gian Cristoforo are clearly comparable with this drawing. It is true that the classical ornaments, the classical hairstyle and dress of the man in the portrait and his rigid pose, the typically Northern *horror vacui*, and the architectural approach that uses arabesques to enrich a Renaissance tomb of the Tuscan type all accord with what we know of Gian Cristoforo Romano’s work. These

details, as well as the general look of some of the figures and decorative motifs, bring to mind the celebrated tomb of Gian Galeazzo Visconti in the Certosa di Pavia, executed in 1493–97, and, at the other end of the scale, the armor in the portrait of Gian Galeazzo in the Certosa, the relief portrait of Isabella d’Este of 1498 formerly with F. A. Stern and P. Drey, New York, and the portrait of Bartolomeo Colleoni now in the Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris. Yet the similarities are too generic to justify a definite attribution to a sculptor by whom we know no other drawings. Even as regards his large-scale projects, Gian Cristoforo’s work is still very much in need of further study.³ In any case, as Laurence Kanter has recently brought to my attention, this drawing would seem to date to after Gian Cristoforo’s death, for it repeats motifs from the Sistine Chapel Ceiling, which was unveiled in 1512. The roundel with the Creation of Eve, for instance, is derived directly from Michelangelo’s depiction of the same subject.

The summary gestures of the figures, combined with the scholastic stiffness of the elevation as a whole and the meticulous execution of the contours and shading, would seem to indicate that this drawing might be a workshop product or a copy *pro memoria*, rather than a model

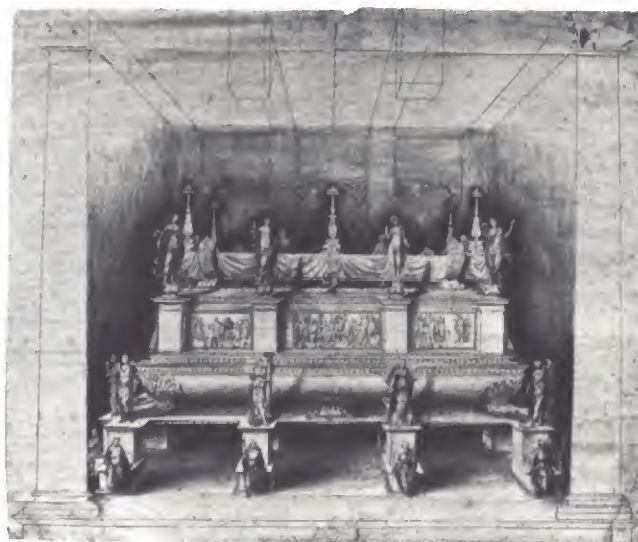


Fig. 22.1 Bambaia, *Design for a Tomb*. Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Photograph: Courtesy of the Board of Trustees of the Victoria and Albert



No. 22



Fig. 22.2 Attributed to Tullio Lombardo and to Gian Cristoforo Romano, doorway to Isabella d'Este's apartment in the Palazzo Ducale, Mantua. Photograph: Giovanni Paccagnini, *Il Palazzo Ducale di Mantova* (Turin: Edizioni rai Radiotelevisione Italiana, 1969), fig. 68

from the hand of a master. It invites comparison with one of the few other drawings of an isolated monument by a Lombard sculptor active in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries: the much more skillfully articulated, though not universally appreciated, drawing in the Victoria and Albert Museum that has been attributed to Bambaia (Fig. 22.1).⁴

Whoever long ago wrote the word *Mantenia* at the lower right may have been referring not to Mantegna or his school, an improbable connection, but rather to Mantua, the city where Mantegna earned his greatest glory and where several northern Italian sculptors, Gian Cristoforo Romano among them, worked for a time. One is reminded, for example, of the doorway to Isabella d'Este's apartment in the Palazzo Ducale (Fig. 22.2). The

figural motifs on the portal, which has been attributed to Tullio Lombardo and to Gian Cristoforo, are by no means remote from those on our drawing.⁵ And one can see a certain resemblance between the ornament on this tomb and that on the three capitals in a drawing in the Accademia, Venice, that has traditionally been attributed to Bramante but has recently been related to Bambaia's work and ascribed to a Lombard artist of the early sixteenth century.⁶

NOTES:

1. Szabo (1983, no. 23) has suggested that the figures in the eight compartments represent geographers and astronomers with their scientific instruments, alluding to the interests or occupation of the deceased. In that case, however, tradition would call for the Seven Liberal Arts to be depicted. Instruments like the armillary sphere and compass could as easily pertain to Prophets and Sibyls. Indeed, the gestures of the figures in the squares at the upper right and lower left would seem to be those of seers rather than personifications of the Arts, and the books and tablets that appear in seven of the scenes would also seem to fit that interpretation. Furthermore, Prophets and Sibyls are connected iconographically with the themes of Genesis and Annunciation depicted in the roundels.
2. Szabo also attributed the drawing to Gian Cristoforo in the catalogues of the exhibitions held in Tokyo in 1977 and New York in 1978.
3. Little has been published about Gian Cristoforo Romano, but for a recent contribution, including bibliography, see De Benedictis 1985. De Benedictis (fig. 2) reproduces a bust of Girolamo Andreasi, now in the Museo Bardini, Florence, which has an iconic fixity not unlike this portrait's.
4. Victoria and Albert Museum, 2315; Ward-Jackson 1979–80, no. 28. Ward-Jackson points out that Robinson (1862, pp. 171–73) first attributed the drawing to Bambaia, although Robinson's hypothesis that it is a design for the tomb of Gaston de Foix, begun about 1515, has been neither proved nor disproved. Ward-Jackson notes as well that the drawing is by the same hand as the so-called Bambaia sketchbook in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, which, though certainly not by the same artist as the Lehman drawing, provides an interesting cultural parallel; for the sketchbook, see Dreyer and Winner 1964.
5. Marani and Perina 1961, p. 540, fig. 124. Since this text was submitted Agosti (1990, p. 165) has mentioned the Lehman drawing briefly, without specifying the reasons for an attribution to Gian Cristoforo Romano.
6. Accademia, 196; Ruggeri in Venice 1982, no. 14.

PROVENANCE: Not established.

EXHIBITED: Oberlin 1942–44; Tokyo 1977, no. 6, ill.; New York 1978, no. 38, ill.; Athens 1979–80, no. 24, ill.

LITERATURE: Szabo 1983, no. 23, ill.; Agosti 1990, p. 165.

Verona

Early sixteenth century

23. A Gentleman, a Young Woman, and a Dog

1975.1.383

Brush and gray and brown ink, heightened with white, on light brown paper. 183 x 165 mm. Damaged at lower left corner, along bottom edge, and in the area where the hands of the two figures meet; tears at upper center and middle right edge. Retouched and restored, probably in the late nineteenth century, judging from the mount of that period and the varnish, perhaps with an egg-white base, applied at that time.

Verso: Lower portion of a draped figure. Black chalk, brush and gray ink, brown wash, on darkened paper. 144 x 153 mm (area of verso visible beneath mount). Annotated in pen and brown ink in a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century hand: *Morone Veronese*.

This sheet was first published by Frankfurter, shortly after Robert Lehman had acquired it. In an article in the *Art News Annual* of 1939, he emphatically rejected the traditional attribution to Francesco Morone suggested by the old writing on the verso because he considered the drawing “not only far too good for him but also rather too early; nor does it agree at all with the style of his father, Domenico.” He assigned the drawing instead to the Ferrarese school, to either Francesco del Cossa or Ercole de’ Roberti, and dated it about 1470–75. He further suggested that because of the keys she carries this young woman is no shepherdess but rather an allegory of a town or locality, whose significance eludes us, he said, because the drawing is most damaged just at the point where she appears to be handing something to her companion, perhaps a token of authority or fealty.¹

When the drawing was shown in Paris in 1957 Béguin clarified many of its features. She refuted Frankfurter’s hypothesis about its subject, pointing out that the costume dates from 1490–1500 and is French in style and that the young woman is a shepherdess very similar to those depicted in French tapestries and miniatures. Where Frankfurter saw two keys emerging from beneath the folds of the woman’s apron, Béguin saw only one, along with a purse and a sheathed knife, and she noted that fifteenth-century peasant women like those in engravings by Israel van Meckenem often carry keys. The knife and the long staff with a spoon at the end, a medieval tool for digging up bulbs, also identify the woman as a peasant, though perhaps a gardener (with the key to her garden or orchard?) rather than a shepherdess. If this is indeed an allegory, then it would seem to be more am-

rous than political. The young gardener appears more beguiling and seductive than submissive, and the gentleman strikes what does seem to be a gallant pose. The dog, a symbol of fidelity, may have been included to accentuate the courtly, amatory theme.

Whereas the woman’s garment is fairly generalized, the man’s, as Béguin noted, is readily identifiable as French and datable to the last decade of the fifteenth century. Similar male attire – the beret pulled down over the brow, the pageboy hairstyle, the coat with large sleeves and a pleated bodice, the short sword – appears often in northern Italian art of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, particularly in the years following Charles VIII’s invasion of Italy in 1493, from the Piedmont to the Veneto, and would therefore not be inconsistent in a Veronese drawing. In the works attributed to the Morone, Domenico more than Francesco, there are many secular scenes and figures like this gentleman, which in a general sense recall Carpaccio.²

As a matter of fact Béguin maintained the attribution to Francesco Morone, seeing no contradiction in the drawing’s style or technique.³ That Morone should have been inspired by a French tapestry is not surprising, Béguin said, for Verona has always been open to Northern influences.

This granted, it remains no less true that the overall treatment, with its graceful, uncrowded figures and rather fragmented, painterly highlights, does not seem typically Moronesque, nor is this drawing anything like those few reliably given to Francesco (see No. 25). Neither does anything here bring to mind the Ferrarese ambience or the extreme graphic tension of the few sheets attributable to artists of the Ferrarese school (see No. 16), *pace* Frankfurter.

The courtly theme, the elegant linearity of the greyhound, much as in a Gothic bestiary,⁴ and the gentleman’s decidedly French appearance are not without a certain Lombard tone, something between Bramantino and Butinone, which might suggest that the artist may in fact have been from the Veneto but was more interested than were the Morone in the culture of nearby Lombardy. The overall effect of the technique and the costumes does recall drawings from the Venetian environment of Carpaccio, Montagna, or the Bellini, but these are



No. 23



No. 23, verso

generic similarities only and not sufficient evidence for an attribution even to a particular school, let alone a specific artist.⁵ Indeed, I know of no other drawing that can be compared with this sheet.⁶

Although fragmentary, the drawing on the verso has more emphatically Venetian characteristics, such as the dense, slender brushstrokes and the gentle, intricately folded drapery reminiscent of Giovanni Bellini. That this sheet came from Verona, the city of the Veneto most open to Lombard influence, is nonetheless the most likely possibility.

NOTES:

1. Induced no doubt by his Ferrarese attribution, Frankfurter remarked that the man bears considerable resemblance to Giovanni II Bentivoglio, lord of Bologna, who is portrayed in the diptych in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., that has also been attributed to Cossa or Ercole. But the resemblance is not compelling, and Frankfurter's comparison of the Lehman sheet with a drawing attributed to Cossa, the *Youth with a Spear* in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (1.92), is equally generic.
2. See, for example, Domenico's well-known *Expulsion of the Bonacolsi* of 1494, now in the Palazzo Ducale, Mantua, and the two *Tournaments* in the National Gallery, London, which

are less certainly attributed to him (Brenzoni 1956, pp. 42, 83; Davies 1961, nos. 1211, 1212, p. 381). Domenico's activity as a miniaturist has only recently been reconstructed; see H. J. Eberhardt in Verona 1986–87, chap. 4. See also the *Betrothal* in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, attributed to Francesco (though Del Bravo [1962a, p. 23] has said he does not believe the figures are by Francesco).

3. In Cincinnati in 1959 the drawing was again exhibited as by Francesco Morone, but in the catalogue of the exhibition of Northern drawings held in New York in 1978–79 Szabo presented it as French, from about 1500. The photograph in the Harvard Center for Renaissance Studies at Villa I Tatti, Florence, is catalogued under both Francesco Morone and school of Verona.
4. As is typical of International Gothic stock repertoires, this same dog appears, reversed, on a leaf of the so-called *Taccuino degli animali* in the Accademia, Venice, the work of an anonymous Lombard artist of the early fifteenth century; see Venice 1982, no. 9, fol. 11 (but see also fol. 13).
5. As examples of such generically similar drawings one could mention the *Three Gentlemen Standing* in the Biblioteca Reale, Turin (15905; Bertini 1958, no. 1), which has been attributed to the school of Gentile Bellini in relation to his *Procession in Piazza San Marco*, dated 1496 (Accademia, Venice), in which the garments resemble those of our gentleman; and both the recto and verso of the *Sheet of Figure Studies* in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Parker 1956, no. 8; as Carpaccio with expressed doubts).
6. Marinelli recently proposed an interesting attribution to Michele da Verona. Yet this drawing seems stiffer, flatter, and more "courtly" in manner than the few works that can be attributed to Michele (see No. 24).

PROVENANCE: Not established. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1934.

EXHIBITED: Oberlin 1942–44; Paris 1957, no. 116; Cincinnati 1959, no. 212, ill.; New York 1978–79, no. 14, ill.

LITERATURE: Frankfurter 1939, pp. 99–100, fig. 3; Marinelli in Verona 1986–87, p. 25, fig. 2.9.

Michele da Verona

Verona ca. 1470–Verona 1536/1544

Michele da Verona was a near contemporary of Francesco Morone's, and from the few authenticated paintings that have survived it is clear that Michele's art was formed in late-fifteenth-century Verona, in the sway of Francesco's father, Domenico. To the Lombard style of Domenico's example, Michele added a simpler handling of light and shadow and a noble solidity and vigor of forms derived from Antonello da Messina. The *Crucifixion* Michele signed in 1501 (Brera, Milan) and his *Coriolanus Persuaded by His Family to Spare Rome* of about 1520 (National Gallery, London) are perhaps the most cogent expressions of his style.

Until recently no drawings had been ascribed to Michele. His graphic work might be assembled by searching among the drawings from the Venetian mainland that have been related to the circles of better-known artists like the Morone or Montagna.

Michele da Verona

24. Madonna and Child with Saints Roch and Sebastian

1975.1.384

Tip of the brush and brown ink, brown and some blue wash, heightened with white, on paper tinted brown. 245 x 375 mm. Laid down. Composed of three pieces put together at an early date; much damaged. Inscribed in a fragment of a cartouche to the right of the Virgin's feet: *AGNVS DEI [ECCE?] / PECATA*. Annotated in pen and brown ink at the lower right in a seventeenth-century hand: *Fra^{co} Moron^o*.

Quite a long time ago it was noticed that this drawing consists of three fragments combined in such a way as to eliminate the young Saint John the Baptist. That he must have been present under the throne is indicated by the remains of a cartouche with the words *Agnus Dei*. As Ames first deduced in 1962, the artist himself must initially have pieced the drawing together and then reworked it in wash and white to mask where the three parts were joined, for it is he who drew the top part of Saint Sebastian's head on the center piece of paper. (Some time later, perhaps when the backing was added, the three pieces, or at least the left and center ones, must have been detached and then rejoined, but so badly that the fragment with Saint Roch slipped upward and inward, altering



No. 24



Fig. 24.1 Michele da Verona, *Saint Luke*. Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich

the lines of the throne's base and arm.)¹ The artist might have cut up a single larger drawing in which the two saints were positioned farther in the foreground, with the Virgin seated behind and above them on a high, stepped throne like those that often appear in monumental altarpieces, or he might have used figures from two or three sheets drawn on different scales. Not only is the entire scene strangely compressed and out of scale, but Saint Sebastian's position as he leans to kiss the baby's foot is rather unnatural, and his body seems contracted, even shrunken (white has been applied to narrow his torso and to move his right knee back).² The Christ Child's hand, now too close to the saint's head, might originally have been raised in blessing above the infant John the Baptist who must have been present near the throne. The figure of Saint Roch, too, is somewhat incongruous; he

gazes off into space rather than at either the Virgin or the viewer, and his pose would seem to be more suitable for a figure kneeling in adoration in a Nativity.³

The meticulous, painterly execution leaves no doubt that this is indeed, as Szabo suggested, a *modello* for a specific painting, perhaps, judging from the unusual horizontal format, a small altar or votive painting for private use, rather than an altarpiece for a church. Several other drawings from the Veneto – by Carpaccio, Bellini, and others, and particularly from the mainland, from the circle of Bartolomeo Montagna – executed in a similar technique with the same painstaking care served likewise as *modelli*.⁴

On the basis of the old annotation at the lower right, which seems to have escaped the attention of whoever sold it to Robert Lehman as simply "Italian," Tietze-Conrat published this sheet in 1943 as an early work by Francesco Morone. The attribution has been repeated several times since then, although in 1962 Del Bravo excluded this drawing from the list of the few studies he considers to be autograph works by Francesco. The Lehman drawing and the *Saints John the Baptist and Benedict* in the Albertina, Vienna, a study for one of the four canvases for the organ shutters in Santa Maria in Organo in Verona,⁵ have even been used as signal examples in a hypothetical reconstruction of Francesco's development as a draftsman. But because the Albertina drawing, the only one directly connected with a painting by Francesco, is from a rather more mature period and is executed in a simple red chalk technique, it does not provide a very useful comparison, or at least no more so than his paintings.

Certain stylistic and graphic mannerisms in this drawing, derived from Carpaccio, Cima, and Antonello, do correspond to Francesco Morone's early work. Yet although his figures are as severe as these, their heads are smaller, with broader facial planes, and their bodies less slender. Then too, although the rumpled sleeves recall Francesco's style,⁶ the highlights on the drapery here make it look stiff, more wrinkled than rhythmic, and the characteristic perpendicular fall of the folds near the floor is missing. The differences are marked enough to justify Del Bravo's doubts and to induce us to seek another name, albeit from the same milieu. That none of Francesco's paintings treat this particular subject⁷ and that none of them repeat the decidedly anomalous composition are therefore perhaps oddities that are only partly explained by the tampering the sheet has been subjected to from the outset.

Among the drawings from the Venetian mainland and the cultural sphere close to Montagna that are to some extent comparable to ours is a *Study of Armor, for a Saint Michael* in the Lugt collection, Paris, that Byam Shaw has recently suggested might possibly be by Giovanni Speranza, who was a native of Vicenza and was trained by Montagna.⁸ A painting signed by Speranza, the *Madonna and Child with Saints Joseph and Mary Magdalene* in the Brera, Milan, happens to be in a horizontal format and has the same “cutout” look as our composition.⁹ In addition, the round head, snub nose, and tiny mouth of the Child in the Brera painting are all strongly reminiscent of the Child in our drawing. But the argument for attributing the Lehman drawing to Speranza, to whom so few drawings can be ascribed with certainty, is no more convincing than the traditional reasoning that gave the sheet to Francesco Morone.

The echoes of Antonello so evident here, particularly in the polished torso of Saint Sebastian and the calm gesture of the Madonna, bring to mind an artist who more than any other from that environment was inspired by Antonello's work: Michele da Verona. Independently of the present research, Marinelli put forth Michele's name for our sheet in the catalogue of the Verona exhibition of 1986–87, and he related it to another drawing, a *Saint Luke* in the Graphische Sammlung, Munich (Fig. 24.1),

that can also be securely identified as by Michele.¹⁰ In fact, the correlation between the figures in these drawings and those in Michele's paintings is so obvious that these sheets might be considered as signal examples in a future examination of his activity as a graphic artist.

Marinelli related the *Saint Luke* in Munich to the decoration Michele painted in 1508 in the church of Santa Chiara in Verona. The same “woodenness that in [Michele's] good moments accentuates his naïveté” that Del Bravo saw in the painting *Coriolanus Persuaded by His Family to Spare Rome* (National Gallery, London) characterizes our drawing as well.¹¹ And, as Del Bravo has kindly pointed out to me, the torso of this Saint Sebastian is as much a “clear adaptation of the Antonello type of nude, with the skin drawn tight and silvery as in the figures of the late painting of Diana,” as the figure in the *Saint Sebastian* in the Camerini collection, Piazzola.¹² The angel supporting Christ's right arm in Michele's *Pietà* in the Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, has a head similar to that of our Saint Sebastian, and his gesture and the folds of his robe can be compared with those of our Madonna.¹³ The most telling comparison, however, despite the different medium, is between our drawing and the left part of an *Adoration of the Magi* in a private collection in Como (Fig. 24.2) that Del Bravo has attributed to Michele and dated to the early years of the six-



Fig. 24.2 Michele da Verona, *Adoration of the Magi*. Private collection, Como. Photograph: Carlo Del Bravo in *Paragone*, n.s., no. 169 (1964), p. 23, fig. 29

teenth century.¹⁴ The style of the two works is remarkably similar, as are the typology and gestures of some of the figures (the infant in the painting recalls this one, and the kneeling Wise Man has the frowning face of our Saint Roch and the stiff pose of our Saint Sebastian),¹⁵ and the drapery and the incisive treatment of light to create a metallic, indeed silvery, relief are entirely analogous.

NOTES:

1. The white highlighting on the seam at the right, which runs along the right side of the Virgin's and Child's heads and through the crown of Saint Sebastian's head and his cheek, then jogs to the left before it turns straight downward through the Child's foot, looks as if it has been cut, but there has been no slippage of the paper, a sign that this might be the artist's original gluing.
2. The original variation in the position of Saint Sebastian is clearly visible along the figure's entire right side. White also appears to have been used above the Virgin's right shoulder to cover either locks of hair or part of the veil.
3. It is pertinent here that in a painting attributed to Montagna in the Thomas Merton collection, Maidenhead, Berkshire (Puppi 1962, p. 107, fig. 29), the Madonna holds the Child out toward a saint who kisses his foot, an act customary for the Magi in a Nativity but rare for a saint in a *Sacra Conversazione*.
4. In 1983 Szabo suggested that the Lehman drawing might be a *modello* for an altarpiece invoking the Virgin and the two saintly protectors against the plague, a theme in which the infant Saint John the Baptist would have been superfluous.
5. Albertina, 17619; Venice–Verona 1971, no. 2. Francesco painted the canvases for the organ shutters, which are now in the parish church of Marcellise (Verona), in 1515–16 in collaboration with Gerolamo dai Libri.
6. For example, the sleeves, as well as the pose, of our Saint Roch recall the Saint Joseph in the *Nativity* in the triptych by Francesco that was formerly in Tregnago and is now in the Museo Civico, Verona (Del Bravo 1962a, p. 11, pl. 7).
7. See the list of Francesco's works published by Wittkower (1927, pp. 199–205).
8. Fondazione Custodia, 4144. Byam Shaw (1983, no. 226, pl. 255) attributed the drawing to the North Italian school and suggested that Speranza "might be worth consideration in this connection." As Byam Shaw has noted, Berenson ascribed the drawing to Morto da Feltre, and Ruggeri (1981b, pp. 269–70) proposed a Ferrarese artist, someone rather like Boccaccio Boccaccino. Grassi (1984, p. 345) considered Cavazzola, a pupil of Francesco Morone's.
9. Ricci 1907, p. 293, no. 224; photograph Alinari 31728.
10. Marinelli in Verona 1986–87, pp. 25, 42, n. 8, fig. 2.7.
11. Del Bravo 1962b, p. 23: "legnosità che nei momenti buoni accentua la *naïveté*." For the painting, see Davies 1961, p. 373, no. 1214. In the painting, datable about 1520, the way the manikinlike figure of Coriolanus bends down resembles the pose of our Saint Roch, and the gesture of the kneeling woman is similar to that of our Madonna.
12. Oral communication, 1986; Del Bravo 1962b, p. 23: "chiaro adattamento del nudo antonellesco con la pelle tirata ed argentea delle figure del Diana tardo."
13. This painting, formerly attributed to Caroto, has also been ascribed to Michele by Del Bravo (1963, p. 40, fig. 49).
14. Del Bravo 1964a, p. 23, pl. 29. Del Bravo has kindly advised me that he concurs in attributing the Lehman sheet to Michele.
15. Marinelli (Verona 1986–87, p. 42, n. 9) also remarked the analogy between the Saint Roch in our drawing and the figure in the *Adoration of the Magi*.

PROVENANCE: Not established. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1934.

EXHIBITED: Oberlin 1942–44; Paris 1957, no. 115; Cincinnati 1959, no. 211, ill.; New York 1965–66, no. 26, ill.; New York 1978, no. 44, ill.

LITERATURE: Tietze-Conrat 1943, p. 87, fig. 4; Del Bravo 1962b, p. 23; Moskowitz and Ames 1962, no. 82, ill.; Ames 1963, p. 112, pl. 80; Venice–Verona 1971, p. 22; Rognini in Brugnoli et al. 1974, p. 139; Byam Shaw 1978, vol. 2, no. 38; Rochester 1981–82, fig. 7; Szabo 1983, no. 24, ill.; Verona 1986–87, pp. 25, 42, n. 9, fig. 2.10.

Francesco Morone

Verona 1471–Verona 1529

Even more so than his father and teacher, Domenico Morone, who headed a workshop in Verona, Francesco Morone developed a painting style steeped in the Venetian ambient of Vittore Carpaccio and Giovanni Bellini. His debt to the Venetians is clear in the early *Samson and Delilah* in the Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan. That he was influenced by Antonello as well is reflected in the abstract, luministic quality of his paintings. He was also affected by the drier, more popular work of Mantegna and Cima, which appealed particularly to his own profound religious sensibility.

Francesco Morone was still collaborating with his father after the turn of the century, both on easel paintings and on frescoes like those he painted in the library of the monastery of San Bernardino in Verona in 1503. He was also receiving commissions of his own as early as 1498, when he painted the imposing *Crucifixion* for San Bernardino. Some four years later, in about 1502, he painted a *Madonna and Child with Saints* that is now in the Brera, Milan, and in 1503 he finished the stylistically similar altarpiece in Santa Maria in Organo, Verona. He also painted frescoes in the sacristy of Santa Maria in Organo, and in 1515–16 he and Gerolamo dai Libri decorated the church's organ shutters. Gerolamo, Michele da Verona, and Cavazzola, all pupils of his father's, were among the friends and collaborators who had their share in affecting Francesco's art.

Francesco's drawings are few and much discussed.

Francesco Morone(?)

25. Saint Paul

1975.1.382

Brush and brown, gray, and black ink, heightened with white (partly oxidized), on paper washed with brown. 264 x 114 mm. Fully laid down on a mount washed with grayish brown along the edges of the drawing. Stained and damaged; perhaps retouched on the hair and halo. Annotated in pen and brown ink along the lower right edge in a seventeenth-century hand: *Fran.co Moro[n]*.

Like No. 24, this drawing has been traditionally attributed to Francesco Morone on the basis of the old inscription. Tietze-Conrat (who called the figure Saint Philip) ascribed it to Francesco in 1943, and Szabo re-

peated the attribution in 1978 and 1983, although in 1962 Del Bravo excluded both Nos. 24 and 25 from the artist's oeuvre.¹ This drawing seems on closer study less carefully drawn and, though in a similar medium, heavier and more somber than No. 24, which I have attributed to Michele da Verona. Here the reference to Francesco Morone seems rather more solid, even though so few of Francesco's drawings have survived to provide comparisons, and the poor state of this sheet and the later retouching make an accurate reading difficult.

Given the *sotto in sù* view, which suggests a specific location, this is probably a study for a painting, perhaps an altarpiece that was to be set high above the viewer. In the finished composition Saint Paul might have been gazing upward at the enthroned Madonna, as in Francesco's *Madonna and Saints Zeno and Nicholas* of about 1502 now in the Brera, Milan, and the similar altarpiece he painted in 1503 for Santa Maria in Organo, Verona.²

Saint Paul with a raised sword in one hand and a book in the other appears often in paintings from the Veneto, both as an isolated figure and in complex altarpieces. Carpaccio's *Saint Paul* of 1520 in San Domenico, Chioggia, and Cima's *Four Saints*, painted about 1500, in Santa Maria dell'Orto, Venice, perhaps the most spectacular treatment of the theme in an altarpiece, come to mind.³ A full-length *Saint Paul* by Domenico Morone that was in a tabernacle formerly in Via Cantarone, Verona,⁴ follows the same tradition, as does the large *Saint Paul Between Saints Denis and Mary Magdalene* Francesco painted for the sacristy of Sant'Anastasia in Verona (Fig. 25.1).⁵ In the Sant'Anastasia painting Saint Paul is conceived enough like the figure in our drawing that it is not impossible that this is an initial study for the painting. Although the saint in the altarpiece looks toward the left, holds an open book, and wears a shorter garment than our figure, the monumental character is much the same, and the luminous highlights in the drawing also have their counterparts in the altarpiece. Even in these works dating as late as the 1520s, the highlighting and the long, dense brushstrokes recall Carpaccio.

Both Rearick and Del Bravo think the Lehman study is from the Morone workshop.⁶ Nonetheless, the affinity with the Sant'Anastasia altarpiece induces me to respect the traditional attribution to the master himself, with at the most a question mark.



No. 25

NOTES:

1. The photograph of the drawing in the Berenson library at the Harvard Center for Renaissance Studies at Villa I Tatti, Florence, is filed under Francesco Morone and is annotated, perhaps by Berenson himself: "or with Michele da Verona?" There is also a note indicating that the drawing was once attributed to Mantegna.
2. Del Bravo 1962a, pp. 8–9, pl. 6, colorpls. 1, 2. It should be noted that Francesco favored the low viewpoint throughout his career.
3. Saint Paul is also depicted in this pose in a polyptych by Lattanzio da Rimini from about 1501–4 in San Martino dei Calvi (province of Bergamo); in two altarpieces with the Madonna enthroned with saints by Andrea da Murano dating from 1502, one in the parish church of Mussolente, the other in San Niccolò, Treviso; and in other paintings as late as the *Adoration of the Name of Jesus* by Benedetto Carpaccio of 1541 in Sant'Anna, Koper, Yugoslavia, and the *Three Saints* by Caroto in the Palazzo Ducale, Mantua.
4. The painting is known only through copies. In a drawing of 1864 of the tabernacle by P. Nanin (see Schweikhart 1973, no. 12) the pose of Saint Paul is so different from that of our figure as to rule out the possibility of our drawing being a study for the tabernacle.
5. Del Bravo (1962a, p. 18) has studied this altarpiece. The same disposition is found as well in the *Holy Evangelist* in the oratory at Cèllore di Tregnago (Verona), which is datable between 1505 and 1515 (Cuppini 1964, fig. 6).
6. Oral communication, 1986.

PROVENANCE: Not established.

EXHIBITED: Oberlin 1942–44; New York 1978, no. 45, ill.

LITERATURE: Tietze-Conrat 1943, p. 87, fig. 3; Del Bravo 1962a, p. 23; Szabo 1983, fig. 47.



Fig. 25.1 Francesco Morone, *Saint Paul Between Saints Denis and Mary Magdalene*. Sant'Anastasia, Verona. Photograph: Alinari/Art Resource

Innocenzo da Imola

(Innocenzo Francucci)

Imola 1488/89–Bologna ca. 1545

Innocenzo is recorded as early as 1506 in a document attesting that the commune of Imola had provided funds for the young man to study with Francesco Francia in Bologna. According to tradition, Innocenzo later repaid the town with the painting of the Virgin enthroned between the patron saints of Imola that now hangs in the Pinacoteca Civica there. Vasari says that Innocenzo also worked in Florence with Mariotto Albertinelli, and in fact some of his works, notably the “plague” altarpiece of 1515 in Bagnara, recall those of Albertinelli’s collaborator Giuliano Bugiardini. Innocenzo was in demand throughout his career, particularly in Bologna, where he had set up his own studio by 1517. His paintings, uniting elements of Florentine and Bolognese classical culture with echoes of Raphael, earned him a steady following of ecclesiastical and private patrons who probably appreciated his work for its dignified formality and iconographic correctness.

Innocenzo’s graphic oeuvre has only recently been discovered. His numerous drawings, most of them executed with a generous, painterly use of black chalk, wash, and white heightening on colored paper, had been confused with those of other artists of both the Florentine and Emilian schools.

Innocenzo da Imola

26. Saint John the Baptist

1975.I.282

Charcoal and white chalk. 418 x 151 mm. Left and right edges irregular. Vertical fold through the center. Annotated in pen and brown ink at the lower left, perhaps in the eighteenth century: 2. Watermark: anchor in a circle with a star.

We owe to Pouncey the discovery of Innocenzo da Imola’s graphic oeuvre, as well as the correct attribution of this drawing. Before 1969, when Pouncey compiled an initial nucleus of fifteen of his drawings, Innocenzo was little known as a draftsman, and only three of the drawings on Pouncey’s list had hitherto been attributed to Innocenzo.¹ When this sheet was in the collections of Maurice and Hubert Marignane in Paris, and perhaps even earlier when it was owned by Sir Jonathan Richardson in Lon-



Figs. 26.1, 26.2 Innocenzo da Imola, *Saint Joseph* (left) and *Saint John the Evangelist* (right). Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, Janos Scholz Collection

don, it was ascribed to the Florentine Giuliano Bugiardini, who is well known as a painter but decidedly not familiar as a graphic artist. The drawing also appeared as by Bugiardini in the 1961 edition of Berenson. In 1964, however, in his review of Berenson’s third edition, Pouncey noted that although “the rigid frontality of the pose and the metallic fold system can easily be paralleled in mature works” of Bugiardini like the signed *Madonna Adoring the Child Surrounded by Saints* in the Staatliche Museen in Berlin, this painting “accounts for much in the style of Innocenzo da Imola and it must be admitted that [the Lehman drawing] has so much in common with drawings by the latter that it may be by him.”² By 1969 Pouncey had resolved his doubts, and he included this sheet in his list of Innocenzo’s drawings.³

That this drawing, like the study in the Louvre for the Saint Sebastian in the high altarpiece Innocenzo painted for Corpus Domini in Bologna,⁴ should have been attributed to a Florentine is not unreasonable. The drawing



No. 26



Fig. 26.3 Innocenzo da Imola, *The Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine*. San Giacomo Maggiore, Bologna. Photograph: Alinari/Art Resource

reveals a rather thorough knowledge of contemporary Florentine culture, a result of Innocenzo's collaboration with Mariotto Albertinelli in Florence, which is attested to by Vasari.⁵ As early as 1864 Crowe and Cavalcaselle recognized that Innocenzo had a great deal in common with Bugiardini, who also collaborated with Albertinelli.⁶ Many of Innocenzo's drawings are more truly Bolognese than this one, exploiting the rich medium of the charcoal to its fullest with generous white highlighting and tinted papers. In others, however, notably the studies from the Janos Scholz collection now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, for Saints Joseph and John the Evangelist in the signed altarpiece *The Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine* of 1536 in San Giacomo Maggiore, Bologna (Figs. 26.1–3),⁷ charcoal and chalk are used in the same sfumato technique and classicizing style that led Pouncey to call Innocenzo “a premature Nazarene.”⁸

An old annotation on the mat of one of the two Scholz drawings connected it with Raphael and Fra Bartolom-

meo, who worked with Albertinelli for many years.⁹ As for Raphael, Innocenzo frequently borrowed ideas from him.¹⁰ Our figure's pose recalls that of the Baptist in Raphael's *Madonna of Foligno* of 1511–12 in the Vatican Museums, Rome. The pose of Raphael's Saint John the Baptist was greatly admired by others as well: recollections of him appear in Andrea del Sarto's work and in Bugiardini's altarpieces at Campoli (San Casciano in Val di Pesa) and in the Museo Civico, Fucecchio, as well as in many other Tuscan and Emilian paintings of the period.¹¹ And a group of drawings by Sogliani¹² and one by Albertinelli¹³ in the Uffizi, Florence, vary the figure from different perspectives. These drawings and our Saint John share not only their dependence on Raphael but also a dual emphasis on fragmented form and sfumato.

NOTES:

1. Pouncey 1969, nos. 2, 11, 12: *Draped Female Torso*; *Lower Part of a Draped Standing Figure* (Uffizi, 14583F); *Apollo and Marsyas* (Louvre, 4308), study for one of Innocenzo's frescoes in the Palazzina della Viola, Bologna; and *The Virgin and Child on Clouds with Four Saints, a Franciscan Beata, and a Male Donor* (Louvre, 8261), study for the high altarpiece of Corpus Domini in Bologna, now in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich.
2. Pouncey 1964, p. 284. For the Bugiardini painting (Staatliche Museen, 283), see Pagnotta 1987, no. 48, ill.
3. According to Pouncey (1969, p. 292, no. 13) and Szabo (1983, no. 27), the drawing once bore an old inscription attributing it to Bugiardini, but the writing in black pencil on the verso can no longer be made out. In his catalogue for the New York exhibition of 1979 and again in 1983 Szabo ascribed this sheet to Bugiardini. In 1987 Pagnotta suggested that it is a product of the Lombard school of the 1520s and that it can be compared with works by Cesare da Sesto (although Pagnotta's caption for the illustration of the drawing gives it to the Florentine school, first quarter of the sixteenth century).
4. Louvre, 2705; Pouncey 1969, no. 10, pl. 25. The altarpiece (ibid., fig. 4) is now in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich. The Louvre also has a preparatory drawing by Innocenzo for the same altarpiece that is much more Bolognese in character (Louvre, 8261; ibid., no. 12, pl. 27; see note 1 above).
5. Vasari (1568) 1878–85, vol. 5, p. 185, cited in Pouncey 1969, p. 287, n. 4. For a discussion of Innocenzo's relations with Albertinelli, see Buscaroli and Galli 1951, and see also D. Ferriani's profile of Albertinelli in Fortunati Pietrantonio et al. 1986, pp. 59–94.
6. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (1864–66) 1903–14, vol. 6, p. 116, cited in Pouncey 1969, p. 287, n. 5.
7. Pouncey 1969, nos. 7, 8, pls. 21, 22; Washington, D.C.—New York 1973–74, no. 46. Our John the Baptist is somewhat reminiscent of the saint in the Bologna altarpiece (Pouncey 1969, fig. 3), but the viewpoint is so different that any direct link between the two is improbable.

8. Pouncey 1969, p. 288.
9. Pouncey (1969, no. 8) transcribes the annotation as *Rafaella d'Urbino in Firenze Veduto Fra: Bartolomeo*. He discusses some of Innocenzo's borrowings from Fra Bartolommeo.
10. For example, the figure of the Archangel Michael in Innocenzo's *Madonna and Saints* from San Michele in Bosco in Bologna and now in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna, repeats a figure in a Raphaellesque painting of 1518 in the Louvre. Innocenzo's study for the figure of Saint Peter in the Bologna altarpiece (Uffizi 1683E; Di Giampaolo 1984, p. 34, fig. 5) has well-modulated drapery similar to that in our drawing.
11. For the altarpiece at Campoli, see Pagnotta 1987, no. 24; for the one in Fucecchio, which can be attributed to a follower of Bugiardini, see Dal Poggetto 1969, no. 9, pl. 10.
12. Uffizi, 6840F, 17005F, 17006F, 17020F, 17046F; Berenson 1961, nos. 2604, 2636, 2637, 2651, 2677. These studies were formerly attributed, significantly, to Fra Bartolommeo.
13. Uffizi, 1283E. Fischer has recently reattributed this drawing to Albertinelli (see Florence 1986b, no. 92).

PROVENANCE: Jonathan Richardson Senior, London (Lugt 2184); Maurice Marignane, Paris (Lugt 1872); Hubert Marignane, Paris; [H. M. Calmann, London]; [P. and D. Colnaghi and Co., London]. Acquired by Robert Lehman from Colnaghi in 1960.

EXHIBITED: New York 1979, no. 4, ill.

LITERATURE: Berenson 1961, no. 607A; Pouncey 1964, p. 284; Pouncey 1969, p. 292, no. 13, pl. 28; Szabo 1983, no. 27, ill.; Pagnotta 1987, pp. 75, 76, 239, no. 140, fig. 126.

Gian Francesco Caroto

Verona ca. 1480–Verona 1555

Giovanni Caroto

Verona ca. 1488–Verona before 1566

The early work of the Caroto brothers is fundamentally Mantegnesque in style. In Gian Francesco that Mantegnesque flavor was superimposed on the teachings of his master, Liberale da Verona; in Giovanni it joined echoes of the Venetian culture of Savoldo and Giorgione. Characteristic of Gian Francesco in that sense is his *Annunciation*, signed and dated 1508, in San Girolamo, in which the influence of Mantegna's later works merges with motifs from Costa. After that date, following his sojourn with Anton Maria Visconti in Milan, one can detect in Gian Francesco's paintings – the *Madonna in Glory with Saints* of 1528 in San Fermo Maggiore in Verona and the frescoes of biblical scenes in Santa Maria in Organo, for example – new elements echoing not only Bramantino and Leonardo but also the classicism of Raphael. His paintings of the 1540s, such as the violent depiction of the Temptation of Christ (Museo di Castelvecchio, Verona), reflect his acquaintance with the work of Giulio Romano of Mantua.

Giovanni's altarpiece from about 1520 in the Chapel of San Nicolo in Santa Maria in Organo, of which only fragments remain, must once have been a work of great significance, and expressive of his Venetian sympathies. Giovanni's reputation rests chiefly, however, on the drawings of reliefs of ancient and modern Veronese monuments that Torello Saraina included in his *De origine et amplitudine civitatis Veronae*, published in 1540. Recent studies have made an effort to expand this limited evidence of the Caroto as draftsmen, but the results remain extremely hypothetical.

Circle of the Caroto

27. Man and Woman Striding Toward the Left

1975.I.313

Point of the brush and gray ink, heightened with white, on paper washed with blue. Pricked for transfer. 202 x 272 mm. Upper left corner made up. Annotated in pen and brown ink at the lower right, perhaps in a seventeenth-century hand: *Francesco Caroto*. On the verso, traces of an old annotation in pen and brown ink: [Fra° Car]oto.

From the pricking of the outlines, the very careful workmanship, and the figures' ostensibly significant gestures,

we can be certain that this drawing, as Szabo recognized, is a study for a portion of a complex panel painting or fresco of some importance. Szabo noted that the drawing appears to have been clipped at the right, and the steps of the throne or dais that remain on the left suggested to him that this is a fragment of a composition with the Virgin and Child in the center approached on both sides by groups of adorants, as in Gian Francesco Caroto's *Madonna Enthroned with Saints* in the cathedral at Trent.¹ The theme of the original composition, however, seems less likely to have been a *Sacra Conversazione* than some scene involving action, such as Mary and Joseph discovering the young Jesus in dispute with the learned men in the Temple. Or the two figures might represent supplicants before a potentate seated on a throne.

Just as its subject remains unknown, our drawing's author must remain nameless, for despite its good quality the drawing has no plausible analogy either in paintings or in drawings that would justify a definitive attribution. No doubt based on the old annotations,² this sheet was given as by Gian Francesco Caroto in the catalogue of the Grassi sale in 1924, when Robert Lehman acquired it. Szabo repeated the traditional attribution, and Rearick considers it not inappropriate and deserving of further study.³ Yet other scholars do not appear to have accepted the sheet as by Caroto, and even Berenson must have had his doubts; one of the photographs of the drawing in his library at the Harvard Center for Renaissance Studies at Villa I Tatti, Florence, is catalogued under Bramantino, albeit with some question.

This drawing seems to me to be altogether too Venetian in character to be by Gian Francesco. It reflects none of the many and varied influences – Emilian-Ferrarese, Lombard, Raphaellesque – that shaped the Veronese artist's eclectic style⁴ and that are so much in evidence in the few drawings securely attributed to him, among them *The Archangel Gabriel* in the Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf,⁵ and the *Female Martyr Saint Crowned by an Angel* in the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, Rome.⁶ Our drawing is also markedly different in both theme and style from the sheet in the Rasini collection in Milan that Szabo considered a parallel, and these figures are far more static than the Madonna and Child in Caroto's drawing.

The typically Venetian manner of expressing form with brush and ink against the blue of the paper does recall, however, the drawings of another Veronese, Giolfino.⁷ In certain of his paintings Giolfino also depicted figures in broad, decisive stalking gestures like these.⁸ Giolfino's

linework, however, has a neo-Gothic Mannerism very much his own, and it is in general more agitated, as are the gestures and expressions of his figures. The figures in our drawing are more natural than Giolfino's, and although their faces and poses are highly expressive, their compact, robust forms bring to mind other artists who came from other parts of Italy to work in the Veneto, such as Giovanni Antonio Pordenone and, even more so, his pupil and son-in-law Pomponio Amalteo. Without pointing directly to either Pordenone or Amalteo, we can note that certain comparisons with their drawings are possible. Pordenone's *Adoration of the Magi*, for example, once in the Janos Scholz collection and now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, is akin to our drawing, especially in the treatment of the figures' hairlines.⁹ Among Amalteo's drawings, particularly, we can find similarities, for instance in the *Judgment of Daniel* in the Louvre, Paris;¹⁰ the sheet with the same subject in the Metropolitan Museum;¹¹ the *Liberation of a Possessed Woman as She Is Passed by Saint Titian's Body* in the Janos Scholz collection;¹² and the *Supper at Emmaus* in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.¹³

Nonetheless, the traditional belief in this sheet's Veronese origin cannot be discarded.¹⁴ Not only are there overt echoes here of Giolfino, but we can indeed also discern analogies with the paintings of Gian Francesco Caroto and, in particular, his more Venetian-minded brother, Giovanni, if not with their rare drawings. These gestures, faces, and puppetlike feet recall to some extent the old king in Gian Francesco's *Adoration of the Magi* in the Accademia Carrara, Bergamo.¹⁵ And there is a certain affinity between these figures and the worshipers in the altarpieces Giovanni painted for Santa Maria in Organo and Santa Maria della Scala in Verona.¹⁶ Thus, although the evidence is not sufficient to support a direct ascription to either one of the brothers, I maintain a reference to their circle.

NOTES:

1. Franco Fiorio 1971, p. 90, no. 30, fig. 49. A preparatory drawing for the Madonna and Child and the head of one of the saints in the Trent altarpiece exists in the Rasini collection, Milan (ibid., p. 113, no. 2, fig. 50).
2. Alessandro Bettagno kindly advises me that the writing on the front appears to be from the same hand that wrote attributions on drawings from the Moscardo collection. See also No. 33, note 1.
3. Oral communication, 1986.
4. For a thoughtful discussion of these influences on Gian Francesco's art, see Del Bravo 1964b.



No. 27

5. Venice–Verona 1971, no. 7; Franco Fiorio 1971, p. 113, no. 1. This is one of the few assured drawings by Gian Francesco Caroto on the grounds of both typology and the early annotation.
6. Fusconi and Rodinò 1982, no. 87; Verona 1988, p. 337 (as Bernardino India). This drawing also carries an early attribution to Gian Francesco.
7. See Venice–Verona 1971, nos. 3–5.
8. See, for example, the foreground figure in the *Saint James Welcoming the Pilgrims* in the Istituti Ospedalieri, Verona (Repetto Contaldo 1976, fig. 4).
9. Washington, D.C.–New York 1973–74, no. 99 (as “attributed to Pomponio Amalteo”); Cohen 1980, pp. 105–6, fig. 119 (as Pordenone; with full bibliography).
10. Louvre, 5425; Cohen 1980, fig. 151.
11. Metropolitan Museum, 66.93.2; *ibid.*, fig. 152; Bean and Turčić 1982, no. 6.
12. Cohen 1973, p. 245, pl. 3.
13. Rijksmuseum, 1956.130; Amsterdam 1981, no. 16. Rearick attributed this drawing to Amalteo.
14. Szabo (1983, no. 29) stated that this drawing came from

the old Calceolari-Moscardo collections, which might also have suggested a Veronese origin, but Szabo’s information is contradicted by the evidence Byam Shaw gathered (see No. 2, note 1).

15. Franco Fiorio 1971, pp. 54, 79, no. 3, fig. 37.
16. Only the painter’s self-portrait with his wife, now in the Museo di Castelveccchio, Verona, survives from the altarpiece formerly in Santa Maria in Organo (*ibid.*, p. 133, no. 10, fig. 79). The *Saints Gregory, Paul, and Joseph*, in which the faces and hands of the worshipers are typologically similar to those of our figures, is still in Santa Maria della Scala (*ibid.*, p. 132, no. 7, fig. 81). For the Caroto, see also Safarik 1977.

PROVENANCE: Luigi Grassi, Florence (Lugt Suppl. 1171b); Frits Lugt, Paris; Grassi sale 1924, lot 60. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1924.

EXHIBITED: Northampton (Mass.) 1942–44; New York 1979, no. 6, ill.

LITERATURE: Szabo 1983, no. 29, ill.

Romanino

(Girolamo di Romano)

Brescia 1484/87–Brescia after 1559

Although Romanino was probably trained in his native Brescia, he came under Venetian influence during a sojourn in Padua in 1513. For the *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints*, the altarpiece he painted that year for the church of the Benedictine monastery of Santa Giustina (now in the Museo Civico, Padua), he obviously drew inspiration from Giorgione and Titian. In the following years, Romanino's services were much in demand, and he won many commissions not only in Brescia but in the surrounding towns. In 1519–20 he collaborated on the decoration of the central nave of Cremona Cathedral. In 1531–32 he worked in Trent at the Castello del Buonconsiglio on a fresco cycle that in the past has aroused certain moral objections but is still admired for its fresh veracity. In 1539 he painted the front of the organ case and the Avogadro altarpiece for the cathedral in Brescia.

In his graphic work one can observe Romanino's passage from more Northern, Dürer-like modes to a style in which the examples of Giorgione and Titian are forced into vivid and eccentric Mannerist distortions. Romanino's drawings, like his frescoes, also have a certain earthiness, especially when he was portraying secular and contemporary themes.

Romanino

28. *Concert champêtre*

1975.I.418

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over black chalk. 291 x 409 mm. Red chalk smudges; vertical tears down the center and at right repaired; loss at the upper edge at right center.¹ Annotated in pencil at the lower right, probably in the late nineteenth century: *Giorgione*.

This drawing appeared under the traditional attribution to Pordenone in the catalogue of the Grassi sale in 1924, when the sheet first appeared on the market, and in Lugt's reference to the sale in 1956. The drawing is catalogued under both Pordenone and Bonifacio de' Pitati in Berenson's photograph collection at the Harvard Center for Renaissance Studies at Villa I Tatti, Florence, and Berenson does seem at one point to have seriously considered Bonifacio (whose catalogue was formerly richer in draw-

ings than it is today; see No. 33), for that attribution is written in his copy of the Grassi sale catalogue.

Certainly Bonifacio de' Pitati was a better starting place than either Pordenone (whose work is quite remote from the pictorial effects and the "Arcadian" taste evident here) or, even more impressive, Giorgione (whose name was probably written on the sheet by some nineteenth-century collector who was swayed, justifiably at the time, by the profane theme and the rich landscape setting). But it was Béguin, in her perceptive entry in the catalogue of the Paris exhibition of 1957, who successfully challenged the traditional attribution with an absolutely convincing argument for ascribing this sheet to Romanino.

That our sketch is by Romanino is borne out by its correlation with both his paintings and his drawings, and the attribution has now been generally accepted, even if this sheet was not included in Ferrari's ample monograph of 1961 or the Romanino exhibition held in Brescia four years later.² Of the sheets certainly by Romanino the closest to this one, in fact almost a companion piece, is the well-known *Concert champêtre* from the Janos Scholz collection now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (Fig. 28.1), that treats the same theme in much the same manner.³ The Scholz drawing is also defined in broad planes that echo Palma Vecchio and are rendered in a similar light wash and continuous coiling outlines recalling Northern engravings. This same approach can be seen as well in two other drawings attributed to Romanino: the *Two Soldiers* in the Scholz collection, which some scholars consider a study from about 1519 for the German soldiers in the frescoes in Cremona Cathedral,⁴ and the *Pyramus and Thisbe* in the Louvre, Paris, which is probably slightly later.⁵

Because of the similar theme, both our drawing and the *Concert champêtre* in the Scholz collection have been related to the frescoes Romanino painted in the Castello del Buonconsiglio in Trent in 1531–32, specifically the lunettes depicting flute players (Fig. 28.2) and a woman playing a lute, the monochrome frescoes on the staircase, and the contemporary genre scenes on the ground floor.⁶ Béguin dated our drawing to the same period as the frescoes. The women in both drawings, however, have more sourish faces than those in the Trent frescoes, and there are "grammatical" flaws in the figures in the



No. 28



Fig. 28.1 Romanino, *Concert champêtre*. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, Janos Scholz Collection



Fig. 28.2 Romanino, *Flute Players*. Castello del Buonconsiglio, Trent. Photograph: Servizio Beni Culturali Museo Provinciale d'Arte/Foto Rensi, Trent



Fig. 28.3 Romanino, *Musicians in a Boat*. Windsor Castle, Royal Library. Photograph: Copyright 1990 Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II

drawings similar to those that appear in Romanino's frescoes of a decade earlier in Cremona Cathedral and in his paintings of 1524–25 on the organ shutters and choir loft in Asola Cathedral.⁷ This suggests that the drawings may date slightly earlier than 1531–32. Further convincing evidence for an earlier date is provided by the affinity between the Lehman sheet and two red-chalk drawings, a *Madonna and Child with Saints* in a Milanese private collection⁸ and a *Nativity* in the Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest,⁹ that Romanino did between 1520 and 1530 (though for what purpose is uncertain). Despite the different medium, these two drawings are among the closest parallels to ours. They are executed in similar airy, highly mobile linework, and the almost grotesque figures, like these, are arranged freely and fluently, as if they have simply been set into a shallow space.

Romanino depicted groups of people playing music in other drawings, among them the so-called *Fête champêtre* in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, of about 1540, which is more constructed and less luminous than our drawing;¹⁰ the *Musicians in a Boat* at Windsor Castle (Fig. 28.3);¹¹ and three sheets now in the Uffizi.¹² Szabo has hypothesized that the Lehman drawing may have been inspired by the painting *Concert champêtre* in the Louvre, which has been attributed to either Giorgione or the young Titian, artists to whom this drawing, more so than the related sheets, does seem indebted for its overall poetic feeling.¹³ Romanino may indeed have planned, as Szabo has suggested, to round out the composition with sheep and shepherds and other figures at the right, precisely as in the most typical Giorgionesque tradition, and that cultural ambit is certainly evoked by a satyr playing the viola da braccio in the company of women in sixteenth-century costume.

NOTES:

1. A note in the Robert Lehman Collection files indicates that this drawing was restored at the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, in 1965.
2. The drawing was also ascribed to Pordenone when it was shown in Cincinnati in 1959.
3. Washington, D.C.—New York 1973–74, no. 75, ill.; now generally attributed to Romanino.
4. Brescia 1965, no. 123, fig. 209; Washington, D.C.—New York 1973–74, no. 76, ill.
5. Louvre, 5648; Brescia 1965, no. 127, fig. 213.
6. For an extensive description of the castle and its frescoes, see Chini and De Gramatica 1985.
7. Brescia 1965, pls. following p. xxxii and no. 33, figs. 50–89.
8. Ibid., no. 122, fig. 208.
9. Szépművészeti Múzeum, 2224; ibid., no. 114, fig. 200; attributed to Romanino by Longhi (1926, pp. 148–49).

ITALIAN DRAWINGS

10. Kupferstichkabinett, kdZ5144; Brescia 1965, no. 112, fig. 198.
11. Royal Library, Windsor Castle, 0338; Popham and Wilde (1949) 1984, no. 873; Brescia 1965, no. 132, fig. 218. The attribution of this sheet to Romanino is somewhat uncertain.
12. Uffizi, 683E (perhaps for the frescoes in the Broletto, Brescia, of about 1540), 691E, 1758F; Brescia 1965, nos. 118, 120, 121, figs. 204, 206, 207. The first two have traditionally been attributed to Giorgione (see Petrioli Tofani 1986–87, pp. 298–99, 302).
13. Szabo 1983, no. 30, with reference to Fehl 1957 and M. L. Ferrari 1961, pl. 65.

PROVENANCE: Luigi Grassi, Florence (Lugt Suppl. 1171b); Frits Lugt, Paris; Grassi sale 1924, lot 107, ill. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1924.

EXHIBITED: Northampton (Mass.) 1942–44; Paris 1957, no. 124; Cincinnati 1959, no. 216, ill.; New York 1965–66, no. 54, ill.; Tokyo 1977, no. 7, ill.; New York 1979, no. 7, ill.; Evanston 1988, no. 8, pl. 3.

LITERATURE: Lugt 1956, p. 171, under 1171b; Washington, D.C.—New York 1973–74, p. 93, n. 1, under no. 75; Szabo 1983, no. 30, ill.

Domenico Campagnola

Venice(?) 1500–Padua 1564

Born of a German father in 1500, perhaps in Venice, Domenico Campagnola was the pupil and adopted son of Giulio Campagnola. Domenico probably had contact with Titian, and he evidently became familiar with Titian's graphic work. Several of Domenico's engravings signed and dated 1517 or 1518 have survived, and he designed a number of woodcuts as well. He was also a prolific draftsman. Not much is known, however, of his vast production as a painter, which was centered chiefly in Padua, where he lived from at least 1528. Some of the frescoes that remain in Padua, for example those he painted in the Scuola del Carmine and the Scuola del Santo, all unfortunately badly preserved, are very Titianesque. The ceiling compartments in the Scuola di Santa Maria del Parto from about 1531 anticipate his connection with Pordenone, with whom he would work in Venice in 1532. By fusing the styles of the mature Titian and Pordenone with echoes of Brescian artists, Domenico developed a highly personal manner that is exemplified in the *Madonna and Patron Saints of Padua* he painted in 1537 for the Loggia del Consiglio and in the frescoes in the Sala dei Giganti in the Liviano. His intellectual and literary tendencies and complex themes gave his work a pronounced Mannerism, perhaps most evident in the organ case in San Giovanni di Verdara.

Domenico's engravings, his woodcuts, and his numerous drawings, almost always done in pen with light wash as ends in themselves intended for collectors, had a far-reaching effect on the development of landscape painting in every part of Europe.

Domenico Campagnola

29. Mountainous Landscape with a Rock, Trees, and Buildings

1975.I.290

Pen and brown ink. 175 x 147 mm. Mounted.

According to the catalogue of the Skippe sale of 1958, this drawing once bore an old pencil annotation attributing it to Domenico Campagnola (the writing is no longer legible). The sheet has appeared in the literature under Domenico's name since the Tietzes attributed it to him,

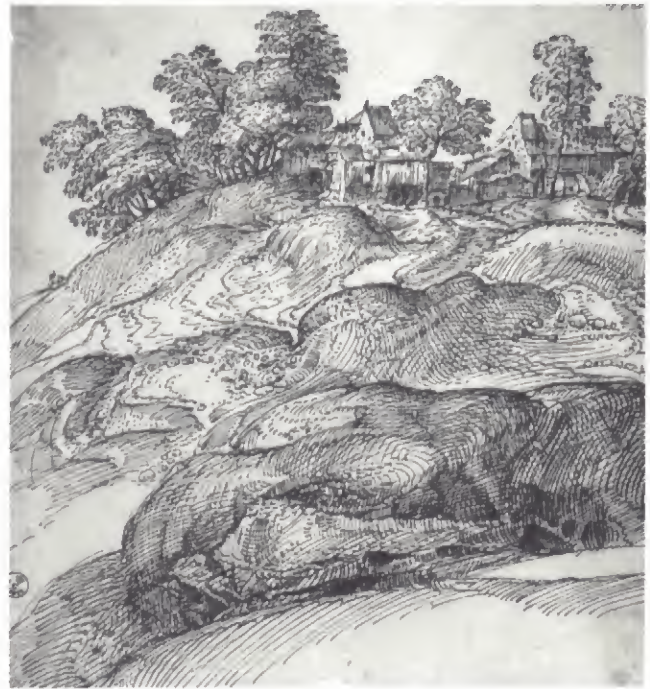


Fig. 29.1 Domenico Campagnola, *Landscape with a Village on a Hill*. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence. Photograph: Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici, Florence

as "early period," in 1944, when it was still in the Rayner-Wood collection.¹

The Tietzes suggested that this might be a fragment of a larger sheet, and the paper does appear to have been trimmed at the right. It seems unlikely that the artist would have cropped one of the pair of trees that serve as the spatial fulcrum of the composition, making objects stand out from the background, with its buildings in the middle distance and mountains beyond. The complete drawing may have had a horizontal format like most of Domenico's landscapes, which have a simplified succession of a few planes staggered against a horizon defined by hills or mountains.

The same types of mountaintops, which are quite summarily delineated and look almost as if they were cut out and pasted on the sheet, are found in other landscape drawings attributed to Domenico that can be dated about 1520, among them a view of a mill and other buildings (Albertina, Vienna),² a landscape with two large trees in



No. 29



Fig. 29.2 Domenico Campagnola, *Landscape with Buildings and a Bridge*. Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth; reproduced by permission of the Chatsworth Settlement Trustees. Photograph: Courtauld Institute of Art, London

the foreground, and a scene with a grove and a village in a mountain landscape (both in the Uffizi, Florence).³ The heavy, distinctive linework and broad hatching of the terrain in the foreground, which contrast markedly with the collage effect of the distant mountains, are also typical of Domenico's early drawings; the same treatment can be seen in the Uffizi landscape with two trees and, in particular, in two other landscapes in the Uffizi, one with a town and a castle, the other with a village on a hill (Fig. 29.1),⁴ and one at Chatsworth with buildings and a bridge (Fig. 29.2).⁵ When it was complete, our drawing must have resembled the Chatsworth sheet. A fragment of the right-hand portion of a landscape similar to this (though it cannot be the portion that has been cut away from our sheet) is in the Neerman collection in Florence,⁶ and there is another, in two pieces, in the British Museum, London.⁷ All these are works from between 1518 and 1520, when Domenico was still very young but already accomplished at drawing landscapes as a genre and already close to solutions of the sort formulated by Titian in his novel approach.⁸

NOTES:

1. For the details of the provenance of this drawing and Nos. 11, 13, 92, and 93, all once owned by John Skippe, we are indebted to Byam Shaw (1983, no. 233). See also No. 92, note 1.
2. Albertina, 1481; Venice 1961, no. 14, ill. Like most of the other drawings mentioned here, this one has also been attributed to Titian or his circle.
3. Uffizi, 1404E, 1406E; Florence 1976b, nos. 54, 53, fig. 53.
4. Uffizi, 475F, 476P; *ibid.*, nos. 51, 50, fig. 52.

5. Chatsworth Settlement, Devonshire Collection, 748; Venice 1976a, no. 17. See also the *Landscape with a Woman and an Old Man* in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris (59; *ibid.*, no. 64, ill.); and the *Buildings in a Rocky Landscape* in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (159; New York 1965–66, no. 81, ill.).
6. Florence 1967b, no. 5, ill.
7. British Museum, 1946.7.13.113; photograph Gernsheim 37620.
8. On Domenico Campagnola, see Puppi 1974 (with full bibliography). For his engravings and woodcuts, see Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1939; Washington, D.C. 1973, pp. 414–36; Washington, D.C.–Dallas–Detroit 1976–77, pp. 120–39; and Zucker 1984, pp. 497–516. For two recent studies on his drawings, see Santagiustina Poniz 1981 and Saccomanni 1982.

PROVENANCE: John Skippe, the Upper Hall, Ledbury, England (see Lugt 1529a–b); his sister, Penelope Skippe, married in 1774 to James Martin, Overbury Court, Worcestershire; James Martin's son, Old Colwall, Malvern; by descent through his mother to Edward Holland; his sister, Mrs. A. C. Rayner-Wood; his nephew, Edward Holland-Martin; Skippe sale 1958, lot 47, pl. 7. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1958.

EXHIBITED: London 1953, no. 84; New York 1979, no. 22, ill.; Evanston 1988, no. 6, ill.

LITERATURE: Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 499; Szabo 1983, fig. 52.

Domenico Campagnola

30. Landscape with a Satyr

1975.I.291

Pen and brown ink, touches of darker ink on the hut at center. 262 x 211 mm. Watermark: anchor in a circle (type of Briquet 587).

As his career advanced, Campagnola devoted himself increasingly to depicting landscape as an end in itself, enriching the views with motifs halfway between genre scenes and mythological fantasies. One consequence of this was that while his style became more assured, it also became rather more hasty. He continued to produce many respectable scenic arrangements, but in their execution he tended to rely more and more on formulas he had ceased to test through direct observation of nature. His drawing became more stereotypic, and he began to assign the same figures performing the same acts to many different scenes.

That is the case with this drawing. Its mechanical character might lead one to consider it a workshop product, rather than from Domenico's own hand, if it was not for the drawing's strong rhythmic quality and the motifs it shares with many of Domenico's drawings from the years 1535–40. These figures, for example, resemble those in a *Landscape with Travelers* in the Uffizi, Florence.¹ And the same type of trees, with smooth trunks modeled with parallel lines and curly leaves gathered into dense, compact tufts, and a similar rugged terrain in steep perspective are found in the *Landscape with Saint Jerome* and the *Month of February* (datable about 1553), also in the Uffizi.² Typical of Domenico's later drawings as well is the casual, almost careless way he introduced such motifs as the two figures at the right here and the satyr at the left, which echo well-known images by Titian but lack any suggestion of space or the living universe of nature.

The *Satyr and a Woman with a Bass Viol in a Landscape* in the Lugt collection, Paris;³ the *Landscape* in the British Museum, London;⁴ the *Saint Jerome* in the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Brunswick;⁵ and the *Landscape with a Sleeping Cupid* at Chatsworth⁶ all treat similar themes, although with rather more brilliance. A similar summary approach, but in an ampler horizontal format and with finer linework, is evident in a *Landscape with Saint Jerome* in the Cleveland Museum of Art⁷ and a *Landscape with a Rocky Coast* in the Metropolitan Museum.⁸ Szabo, the only one who has studied this drawing, also considered it a late work by Domenico himself and raised the question whether this drawing, with its

mythological figure, might not signify something more than we perceive today.

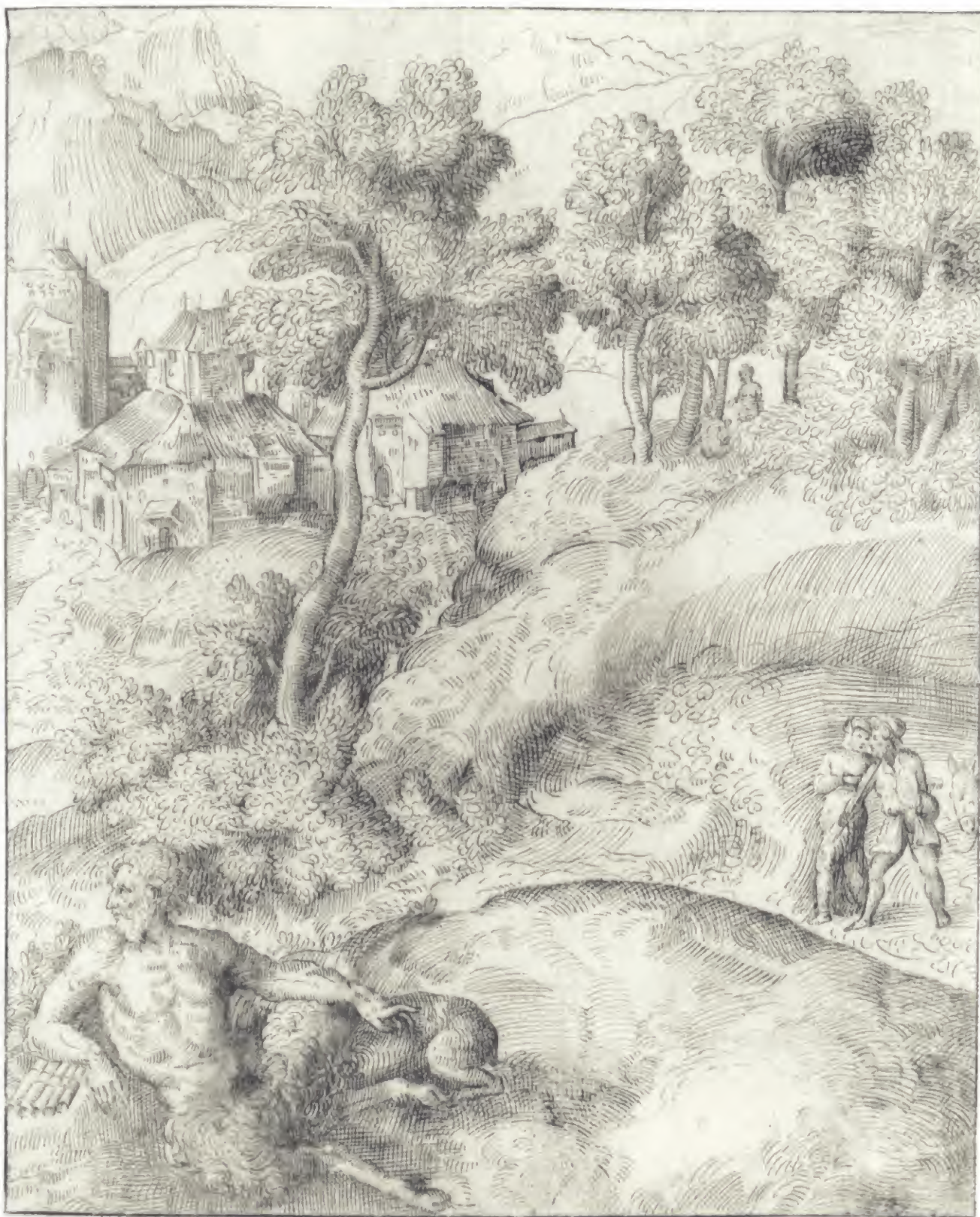
NOTES:

1. Uffizi, 480P; Florence 1976b, no. 72.
2. Uffizi, 496P, 7450S; *ibid.*, nos. 71, 79, fig. 68.
3. Fondation Custodia, 7528; Byam Shaw 1983, no. 234, pl. 267.
4. British Museum, 1925.2.142; photograph Gernsheim 412.
5. Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Z960; museum photograph KK2394.
6. Chatsworth Settlement, 246; photographs Gernsheim 83208, Courtauld Institute of Art 308.44.27.
7. Cleveland Museum of Art, 29.557; Cleveland 1979, no. 100.
8. Metropolitan Museum, 07.283.15; Bean and Turčić 1982, no. 41.

PROVENANCE: Not established; [William H. Schab Gallery, New York]. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1959.

EXHIBITED: New York 1959a, no. 127; New York 1979, no. 23, ill.; Evanston 1988, no. 7, pl. 2.

LITERATURE: Rochester 1981–82, fig. 8; Szabo 1983, no. 37, ill.



No. 30



No. 31

Imitator of Domenico Campagnola

31. Landscape with Two Seated Figures

1975.I.542

Pen and brown ink, over traces of black chalk. 185 x 236 mm.
Laid down.

The motif of this landscape is so patently Titianesque in origin that the drawing has been attributed to Titian by such experts as Hadeln and, initially, the Tietzes,¹ and it has been exhibited as Titian's. In 1944, however, after they had had an opportunity to examine the drawing, the Tietzes ascribed it to an unnamed "later artist" making use of motifs typical of Titian and his period. And in 1979 Szabo pointed out that recent scholarship favored an attribution to a follower of Titian.²

Comparing this drawing with Titian's well-constructed trees and bushes, which are so richly evocative of light and color, definitively rules out an attribution to Titian himself.³ The choice of landscape motifs, the figures' clothing, the type of houses, and the way the scene is laid out imply instead a late epigone who was repeating the Titianesque canons by rote and with a casual attitude toward matters of style. Moreover, because of the open linework, which is easy to render with either an etcher's needle or a woodcutter's blade, one suspects that the author was an engraver.⁴ All of which would accord with Domenico Campagnola, who lived some years beyond the middle of the sixteenth century and was the best-known and most prolific imitator of Titian's landscape drawings. But the argument is not entirely convincing: although the figure of the woman and some details in the terrain and mountains do bring to mind Domenico's later, more fluent drawings, the linework here is sharper and the treatment rougher and more open, especially in the rendering of the foliage.

There is much to be said for Rearick's suggestion that this drawing might have been done not by a Venetian directly indebted to Titian and Campagnola, but rather by an artist of a quite different culture and epoch, a Bolognese of the early seventeenth century, say, who approached the work of the two Cinquecento artists indirectly and with less penetrating perception, a freer hand, and a greater predilection for the "picturesque."⁵ Yet comparing our sheet with Bolognese drawings that would seem to fit best with what we see here, from those from the circle of Domenichino to those by artists like Grimaldi, shows unequivocally that this drawing belongs to an earlier time.

We can therefore only fall back on the traditional attribution to a sixteenth-century Venetian, keeping in mind that comparison with more certain products of Domenico Campagnola, such as Nos. 29 and 30, leaves a margin of doubt not so much because of the vocabulary itself as for the more relaxed phraseology and the de-emphasis of detail in spite of the close-up view.

NOTES:

1. The Tietzes ascribed this drawing to Titian in 1936, when they had seen only a reproduction of it.
2. Szabo in New York 1979, no. 10. In Evanston 1988 Szabo proposed that this drawing may have been made in Titian's workshop, probably as a preparatory drawing for a woodcut.
3. See, for example, the *Trees and Shrubbery* in the John J. Steiner collection, United States (Venice 1976a, no. 36bis, ill.).
4. This specific composition does not, however, seem to figure in the ample corpus of engravings from the Titian circle (see Berlin 1971, Venice 1976b, Oberhuber 1978). This might suggest that the drawing was produced not for an engraver but purely as a decorative piece for a collector, as is true of most of Campagnola's drawings.
5. Oral communication, 1986.

PROVENANCE: Robert Udny, London (Lugt 2248); [Richard Ederheimer, New York]. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1927.

EXHIBITED: Buffalo 1935, no. 28, ill.; San Francisco 1940(?); Oberlin 1942–44; Cincinnati 1959, no. 214, ill.; New Haven 1960, no. 160, ill.; New York 1979, no. 10, ill.; Evanston 1988, no. 9, ill.

LITERATURE: Hadeln 1927, pp. 128–31, ill.; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1936, pp. 181, 191, no. 17; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. A1946.

The Veneto

Mid-sixteenth century

32. Landscape with a Shepherd in Repose

1975.I.333

Pen and brown ink, over black chalk. 253 x 200 mm. Upper corners made up; some stains. Annotated in pen and brown ink at the lower left in a sixteenth-century hand: *zorzon*. Watermark: fragment of a star(?) in a circle.

Verso: Studies of a tree, a nude boy, and ornamental designs. Pen and brown ink. Annotated in pencil at the top: 20 and a signet; inscribed(?) in pen and brown ink near the tree: *P. Amista* (for *per amicitia*, or "in friendship").

The attribution to Giorgione that this drawing carried in the catalogue of the Grassi sale in 1924 was doubtless suggested by the sixteenth-century annotation. The spelling of *zorzon* does indicate a Venetian origin, but the attribution itself is obviously unsustainable as regards both quality and chronology, and Szabo was right to ascribe this sheet to an anonymous Venetian artist when he showed it in New York in 1979. Although in general appearance, theme, and spirit the drawing is vaguely Giorgionesque, the mediocre execution and the lack of anything resembling Giorgione's style rule out his authorship.¹

The date Szabo proposed for the sheet, the first quarter of the sixteenth century, seems much too early, however. The faint Giorgionesque tradition in the subject of the drawing on the recto reflects elements from rather late works of the Giorgione school, by artists like the Master of the Philips Astrologer.² And, for all its awkwardness, the rapid, free hand with which this drawing was executed also brings to mind Venetian art of later in the century, when Titian and Domenico Campagnola (see Nos. 29–31) had already had their effect. The fluent penwork and the motifs – the trees on both sides of the sheet, the crouching figure (a cupid or a young faun?) on the verso, and, in particular, the ornamental designs³ – are all already related to the Mannerist style of central Italy, evincing the wide repercussions of Perino del Vaga and Polidoro da Caravaggio and suggesting at least the third or fourth decade of the sixteenth century.

This said, it remains extremely difficult to proffer even a hypothetical name for the author of this sheet. The few drawings that are even vaguely comparable are themselves of dubious attribution. For example, the small *Landscape* in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan, that Ruggeri has attributed to Verdizzotti⁴ seems a little too early for that artist, whose only certain drawing seems



Fig. 32.1 The Veneto, mid-sixteenth century, *Hunter with Dogs in a Landscape*. Present location unknown. Photograph: Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, Villa I Tatti, Florence

to be a *Cephalus and Procris* in the Landesmuseum, Brunswick, that is more mature and of much higher quality than our sheet.⁵ The *She-Bear and Leveret* in the Uffizi in which the animals are delineated in a somewhat similar manner has also been linked to Verdizzotti, but it would be better catalogued as school of Titian.⁶

The only drawing that is probably from the same hand as ours is a *Hunter with Dogs in a Landscape* (Fig. 32.1) that bears a similar old annotation with the name *Zorzon* and was also offered in the Grassi sale.⁷ The sheet could almost be a pendant to ours, though the penwork is surer and more incisive and the figures are more skillfully drawn. With its somewhat blunter line and defter modeling, it orients us even more decisively toward an artist of the Veneto of mid-century who, while reflecting the Titianesque ambient, was not without some debt to Verona.⁸ The style is somehow reminiscent of certain drawings by, for instance, Battista del Moro.⁹

NOTES:

1. In the Robert Lehman Collection files there is a copy of a paper on this drawing by Jane Whitcomb, then a student at Vassar College, dated October 21, 1942 (when the drawing was on loan to the college). Whitcomb remarked that "though the spirit of the drawing is certainly Giorgione's, the workmanship most definitely is not." She attributed the sheet to a



No. 32



No. 32, verso

fellow pupil of Giorgione's in the studio of Giovanni Bellini and dated it to 1494–98.

2. See Pignatti 1978, nos. A40, 41, 70.
3. Szabo (New York 1979, no. 28B) thought the sphinx at the left was probably a sketch for a "handle or similar goldsmith's work," but it seems more likely to have been for a grotesque wall ornament. The figures on pedestals sketched at the top right might be a design for a fountain or an epergne.
4. Biblioteca Ambrosiana, cod. F.281, inf. no. 36; Venice 1979, no. 34.
5. Landesmuseum, 552 (signed *Zuan Mario Verdizotti*); Venice 1976a, no. 87.
6. Uffizi, 1321E; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 2022 (as Verdizotti); Venice 1976a, no. 88.
7. Grassi sale 1924, lot 86 (as Giorgione). The photograph of this drawing at the Harvard Center for Renaissance Studies at Villa I Tatti, Florence, is catalogued as school of Giorgione. A note on the photograph compares the sheet with a *Saint Sebastian* in the Uffizi, Florence (7377S), a drawing traditionally given to the Giorgione school, then classed as school of Titian, and more recently attributed to Alonso Cano by Petrioli Tofani (handwritten note on mount). The *Saint Se-*

bastian, however, has absolutely nothing in common with either the Lehman drawing or the *Hunter with Dogs in a Landscape*.

8. Rearick (oral communication, 1986) supports the reference to the Veronese school, but he is inclined to date the sheet even later, closer to the end of the century.
9. See, for example, Venice–Verona 1971, nos. 20, 21: the *Ruined Temple with Caryatids* in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (1375/1863), and the *Capriccio of the Septizonium and Other Ruins* in the Witt Collection, Courtauld Institute of Art, London (3998). These sheets have a more Mannerist look than ours, however, and they are drawn in a less casual, less offhand fashion.

PROVENANCE: Luigi Grassi, Florence (Lugt Suppl. 1171b); Frits Lugt, Paris; Grassi sale 1924, lot 87. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1924.

EXHIBITED: Poughkeepsie 1942–44; New York 1979, no. 28A, B, ill.; Evanston 1988, no. 10, ill.

LITERATURE: Szabo 1983, fig. 53.

Bonifacio de' Pitati

(Bonifacio Veronese)

Verona 1487–Venice 1553

The earliest signed and dated work of Bonifacio de' Pitati, also called Bonifacio Veronese after the city where he was born in 1487, is the *Madonna and Saints* of 1533 in the Accademia, Venice. Little is known, therefore, about his training and the influences that shaped his art, except that he flourished in Venice in the wake of Palma Vecchio. His name has been linked to the now-dispersed paintings from the Palazzo dei Camerlenghi in Venice (many in the Accademia), some also from the 1530s, as well as to other, mostly decorative and narrative works. Bonifacio took Giorgione's and Titian's models and popularized them, interpreting even sacred themes with such pomp and in a spirit so utterly profane that in his *Dives and Lazarus* (Accademia, Venice), *Finding of Moses* (Brera, Milan), and many *Sacre Conversazioni* the religious subjects have been transformed into charming depictions of contemporary Venetian society and costume.

Bonifacio led a highly active workshop, and his own works cannot always be distinguished from those of his pupils and collaborators. Several drawings have traditionally been ascribed to him, but so far as we know today his activity as a draftsman was rather limited and is still open to discussion.

Bonifacio de' Pitati(?)

33. The Supper at Emmaus

1975.I.543

Brush and brown ink, brown wash, heightened with white, over black chalk underdrawing, on blue paper. 261 x 299 mm. Laid down. Hand-drawn frame in pen and dark brown ink similar to that used for the annotation at the bottom center, in a seventeenth-century hand: *Bonifacio*.¹

This sheet has an illustrious provenance that goes back to the Grahl and Habich collections and then to the collection of Archduke Friedrich in Vienna. On the basis of the old inscription Schönbrunner and Meder reproduced it as from the hand of Bonifacio himself, noting that Ludwig had related it to the *Supper at Emmaus* in the Brera, Milan. When Robert Lehman acquired the drawing at the Oppenheimer sale in 1936 it was still ascribed to Bonifacio, and since then, despite some doubts, it has retained that attribution in the literature.



Fig. 33.1 Bonifacio de' Pitati, *Christ Seated in Glory Between Saints Francis and Roch*. Schlossmuseum, Weimar

From the outset, any connection with the Brera painting must be ruled out. The drawing has in common with it only the subject, the horizontal format, and certain figural types like the corpulent host and the boy playing with a dog. The gestures, the setting, and the composition as a whole are entirely different. In 1931 Westphal was convinced that our drawing was a copy of a Bonifaciesque painting and of a later date than the painting in the Brera. But when the Tietzes published the sheet in 1944 they held that it is more likely to be a *modello* for a painting by Bonifacio himself. Recently Rearick returned to Westphal's supposition, and further suggested that the drawing's author might be sought among Brescian artists.² That would be a complicated task, however, given the scarcity of information about the drawings of that school (with the exception of those by certain better-known artists, among themselves quite diverse, such as Romanino, Savoldo, and Moretto).

In any case, very few drawings can be attributed to Bonifacio himself with any certainty. As early as 1931 Westphal had doubts about the nine sheets known to her, and though the Tietzes did something to improve that situation, they finally accredited no more than five or six. Of that already limited group Rearick strongly considered as possibly autograph only the *Christ Seated in Glory Between Saints Francis and Roch* in the Schlossmuseum, Weimar (Fig. 33.1), a study for the painting owned by the duke of Alba in Madrid,³ though Rearick



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tentatively proposed adding to Bonifacio's portfolio two drawings in the Uffizi (one traditionally attributed to Natalino da Murano,⁴ the other to Polidoro da Lanciano) and one in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam.⁵

Indeed, correlations do exist between our sheet and the *Christ Seated in Glory* in Weimar: note the figures' small feet and roundish legs; their hands, spread open like rakes or closed like little bundles; their pointed beards; and the angles of their heads (compare, for instance, the apostle at the right with the Saint Roch on the Weimar sheet). The technique is also analogous, though in the Lehman drawing it is used in the more pictorial manner typical of the Veneto.⁶

Furthermore, a number of Bonifacio's paintings treat related subjects; there are depictions of the Last Supper, for example, in the Venetian churches of Sant'Angelo Raffaele and Sant'Alvise, in the Palazzo Patrizi in Rome, and in the Uffizi, the latter datable toward the middle of the sixteenth century and also attributed to Antonio Palma.⁷ Yet it should be noted that Jacopo da Pistoia, a follower of Bonifacio, may be the author of the painting *The Supper at Emmaus* in the Pitti in Florence⁸ and of a drawing of the same subject in the Art Institute of Chicago.⁹ The drawing in Chicago has a good deal in common with our sheet, but the treatment is looser and the sheet is probably of later date.

It appears, therefore, that the old annotation is not to be dismissed and that the traditional attribution to Bonifacio, to his school if not to the master himself, remains perhaps the most plausible, at least for the present. The very solid structure of the figures, which have nothing Mannerist about them, and the garments worn by the two boys would seem to rule out a date much beyond the mid-1500s. Certainly the spirit of the scene, more profane than sacred, endowed with a pleasant narrative quality, corresponds to the most fundamental characteristic of the paintings of this Veronese artist who settled and worked in Venice.

NOTES:

1. The seventeenth-century writing is much like the hand that wrote *Francesco Caroto* on No. 27. Similar handwriting is found on sheets once in the collection of Lodovico Moscardo in Verona, so this drawing too may have belonged to that early collection from which other drawings in the Robert Lehman Collection came, though by different routes (see Nos. 2-7). See also No. 27, note 2.
2. Oral communication, 1986.
3. Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 384. As Rearick (Florence 1976b, p. 75, under no. 37) pointed out, the attribu-

tion of the painting to Bonifacio is still open to discussion; it has also been ascribed to Palma Vecchio (see Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 384).

4. Uffizi, 12787F, *Allegorical Female Figure* (recto) and *Architectural Studies* (verso); Rearick in Florence 1976b, no. 37, fig. 46 (as very probably by Bonifacio de' Pitati).
5. Uffizi, 12818F, *Female Nude Seen from the Back*; *ibid.*, no. 38, fig. 45 (as Bonifacio de' Pitati[?]). On the basis of this drawing Rearick also attributed to Bonifacio the *Seated Woman Seen from the Back* in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen (1484; *ibid.*, pp. 76, 77, under no. 38).
6. On the other hand, our sheet has little in common with two drawings at Chatsworth, both depicting the Holy Family with Saint Roch and executed entirely in pen outline, that have been authoritatively attributed to Bonifacio and also to Palma Vecchio (Chatsworth Settlement, Devonshire Collection, 910a, b; Byam Shaw in Washington, D.C. 1969, no. 18 [as Bonifacio]; Goldfarb in Venice 1976a, nos. 83, 84 [as Palma Vecchio]).
7. Uffizi, 948; Uffizi catalogue 1979, no. P226.
8. Molmenti (1903, p. 437) attributed the painting to Jacopo da Pistoia.
9. Tietze and Tietze-Conrat (1944, no. 378) listed the drawing under Bonifacio but said that a tentative attribution to Jacopo da Pistoia might be justified. Rearick (Florence 1976b, p. 75, under no. 83) believes it is by Giulio Campi. There is no similarity between the Lehman sheet and yet another drawing depicting the Supper at Emmaus (British Museum, London, 1902.6.17.3) that the Tietzes (1944, no. A380) also listed under Bonifacio but considered a copy from a painting by an artist influenced by him.

PROVENANCE: August Grahl, Dresden (Lugt 1199); Grahl sale 1885, lot 343; Edward Habich, Kassel (Lugt 862); Habich sale 1899, lot 108; Archduke Friedrich, Vienna; Henry Oppenheimer, London; Oppenheimer sale 1936, lot 36. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1936.

EXHIBITED: Northampton (Mass.) 1942-44; New York 1979, no. 11, ill.

LITERATURE: Schönbrunner and Meder 1896-1908, no. 1367; Westphal 1931, p. 133, no. 170; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 382, pl. 97.3; Florence 1976b, p. 75, under no. 83.

Gaudenzio Ferrari

Valduggia (Vercelli) ca. 1475–Milan 1546

Gaudenzio Ferrari's art was formed in Lombardy. The examples of Leonardo and Bramantino helped him shed a certain outmoded approach inherited from Bergognone, and the process was furthered by what he learned of the art of central Italy and, through Dürer's engravings, Germany. Gaudenzio was a prolific painter with an exuberant flair for narrative. His fame has rested particularly on his large fresco ensembles, especially the cycles he painted in 1507–13 in Santa Maria delle Grazie in Varallo and at the latest from about 1520 to 1529 in the many chapels of the nearby Sanctuary of Sacro Monte, which along with his numerous religious polyptychs helped give the art of the area its distinctive stamp. Though they depict solemn religious themes, the frescoes abound with figures and episodes of a popular tone. At Sacro Monte, Gaudenzio added large groups of intensely realistic painted terracotta figures.

Among Gaudenzio's other well-known fresco cycles are those in the church of San Cristoforo in Vercelli, begun in 1525, and in the cupola of the Sanctuary of Santa Maria dei Miracoli in Saronno, of 1534–36. After 1539 he worked in Milan, where in 1545 he painted the frescoes for Santa Maria della Pace that are now in the Brera, Milan.

Gaudenzio also produced many drawings of high quality, some obviously preparatory to paintings, that were executed in a rich painterly manner in wash highlighted with white on tinted papers. Especially outstanding are his large, highly finished cartoons, whose iconography and technique served as models for other artists in Lombardy and the Piedmont.

Follower of Gaudenzio Ferrari

34. *Madonna and Child with Saints Martin and Maurice(?)*

1975.I.323

Pen and ink in two shades of brown, over black chalk. The figure of the saint at the left is on a separate piece of paper attached to the larger sheet; part of his cloak was drawn on the larger sheet in a lighter brown ink. 311 x 248 mm. Laid down. Worn and tattered at the edges; lower right corner torn.

Not much is known about this sheet's provenance or about its former attribution to Defendente Ferrari, which seems to have been proposed by Berenson in 1955.¹ Szabo

exhibited the drawing in 1979 and published it in 1983 as by Defendente; he dated it to the 1520s.

Szabo further hypothesized in 1983 that this drawing may have been part of a wider composition that included other figures. The warrior saint at the left is indeed drawn on a piece of paper that has been added to the rest of the composition, and he is on a different scale from the saint opposite him. The warrior's mantle, the Madonna's head, and other less important areas have also been reinforced in a second color of ink. All this does not mean, however, that the drawing is either a fragment or a collage of two different studies by the artist. Both parts of the sheet are the same type of paper, and the overall proportions suggest at most a slight reduction of the margins.

That this is not a fragment of a larger drawing is confirmed as well by the fact that the composition matches a painting by Gaudenzio (rather than Defendente) Ferrari, the *Madonna with Saints Martin and Maurice(?)* in the Galleria Sabauda, Turin (Fig. 34.1), the sole difference being the presence of the angel musician on the steps of the throne in the painting.² Not only the drawing's incontrovertible correspondence with Gaudenzio's painting but also certain stylistic and compositional characteristics rule out Defendente's authorship and point instead to a later period, as well as to the Piedmont, to an artist somewhere between Gaudenzio Ferrari himself and his pupil Bernardino Lanino or Lanino's father-in-law, Girolamo Giovenone.

This can only be a copy after Gaudenzio's painting, which itself dates from the 1530s, and it must have been drawn by a provincial artist either as an exercise or in preparation for re-creating its scheme in an altarpiece for some country church. The stiff, heavy linework, the disproportionate figures, and the seeming absence of anything solid beneath the rigidly folded drapery evince an uncertain hand that could surely not be that of Gaudenzio, an able draftsman, or even any of his most direct and well-known followers. Most of the known drawings by Gaudenzio and the artists associated with him are more pictorial and more finished, and they were done in preparation for cartoons that directly preceded actual paintings. The few pen and ink drawings like ours that have been connected with that circle are all of dubious authenticity. Among them are a *Holy Family* in the Albertina, Vienna,³ a *Dispute in the Temple* in the British Museum, London,⁴ and a *Madonna and Saints* in the Kupferstich-





Fig. 34.1 Gaudenzio Ferrari, *Madonna with Saints Martin and Maurice (?)*. Galleria Sabauda, Turin

kabinett, Berlin.⁵ A *Madonna and Saints* in the Biblioteca Reale, Turin, that Romano has attributed to Boniforte Oldoni is somewhat like our drawing, but it is by another, later hand.⁶ And the same kind of rather slack drawing is found, though in another medium, in certain cartoons by Giuseppe Giovenone il Giovane in the Accademia Albertina, Turin.⁷ All these drawings are of very much better quality than this one, however.

Naming the author of this sheet is therefore difficult. Romano's proposal that the drawing is by Moncalvo after Gaudenzio's painting, because of its similarity to a sheet in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan, depicting the Madonna and Child, is interesting but nonetheless seems unacceptable.⁸ The numerous drawings securely assigned to Moncalvo are very much more agile and more sophisticated than ours.⁹ Not only does the iconographic link

with Gaudenzio's painting point to one of his followers, but the types of the figures and their incorrect proportions would seem to indicate that our modest author had some sympathy with Bernardino Lanino. That deduction is borne out by our drawing's resemblance to certain of Lanino's drawings on related themes, though they are in a different medium and, above all, show considerably greater graphic and interpretative capability.¹⁰

NOTES:

1. A note in the Robert Lehman Collection files refers to a letter of February 1955 from Berenson suggesting Defendente as the author of this drawing.
2. Galleria Sabauda, 49; Mallé 1969, fig. 229. The painting, which came from the Confraternita della Scala, Casale Monferrato, has been dated by Gabrielli (1971, no. 49) to about 1540 and by Michela di Macco (Turin 1982, pp. 79–80, under no. 4) to between 1530 and 1534, dates which in any case serve as a *terminus post quem* for our drawing.
3. Mallé 1969, p. 156, fig. 274.
4. British Museum, 1885.7.11.275; see *ibid.*, p. 156.
5. Kupferstichkabinett, KK2000.1902.5071; photograph Gernsheim 33543.
6. Biblioteca Reale, 16156; attributed to the school of Gaudenzio Ferrari (Bertini 1958, no. 150) and to Boniforte Oldoni (Turin 1982, p. 181, *ill.*, under no. 28).
7. See Turin 1982, nos. 36, 37.
8. Letter from Giovanni Romano, May 7, 1984 (Robert Lehman Collection files), referring to Romano 1964, which includes a reproduction of the drawing in the Ambrosiana.
9. See Romano 1984.
10. The Lanino drawings most typologically akin to ours are a *Virgin and Child with Saint Roch and Two Other Male Saints* in the Metropolitan Museum (19.76.1; Bean and Turčić 1982, no. 106) in which the disproportionate figure of Saint Roch is analogous to our Saint Martin; a *Madonna and Saints* in the Biblioteca Reale, Turin (16153; Bertini 1958, no. 207; Griseri 1978, fig. 2); and a *Madonna Standing, Holding the Child* from the Lugt collection, Paris (Fondation Custodia, 1972-T.2; Byam Shaw 1983, no. 385, pl. 439).

PROVENANCE: Not established.

EXHIBITED: New York 1979, no. 12, *ill.*

LITERATURE: Szabo 1983, no. 32, *ill.*

Francesco Primaticcio

Bologna 1504–Paris 1570

Primaticcio was trained in painting by Giulio Romano at the Palazzo del Tè in Mantua, and his art was further enriched when he was exposed to the works of Correggio and Parmigianino in Parma in 1525. In 1532, on Giulio Romano's recommendation, Francis I invited Primaticcio to Fontainebleau to oversee, with Rosso (who had arrived the year before), the decoration of the newly built château. For the next eight years, the two Italians headed the large staff of workers and artists brought to Fontainebleau under Francis's patronage, and after Rosso's death in 1540 Primaticcio became the chief artist of what was to be known as the School of Fontainebleau. He remained in France for the rest of his life, except for two trips to Rome in the king's service, in 1540–42 and 1546, and a visit to his native Bologna in 1563.

Most of the great decorative cycles Primaticcio designed for Fontainebleau have either been destroyed, like the decorations in the *Galérie d'Ulysse* (1541–59) and the *Appartement des Bains* (1541–50), or have survived in very poor condition, like the *Salle de Bal*, where the frescoes were painted in 1551–56 by Niccolò dell'Abate. Our knowledge of the high and decidedly original quality of Primaticcio's art must therefore depend on his very beautiful and fortunately quite numerous drawings. In his drawings, which are usually in red chalk or pen, Primaticcio experimented with the elegant foreshortening and audacious movement that were to have such a conspicuous influence on the development of French painting in the latter half of the sixteenth century.

Francesco Primaticcio

35. Two Nymphs Carrying a Third

1975.I.412

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, traces of white corrections. Black chalk shading probably added by a later hand. Outlines traced for transfer. 232 x 279 mm. Laid down. Trimmed at the left; upper right corner made up.

Part of a leg and a goat's foot are all that remain of the satyr who was seated at the left when this sheet was complete. There is a companion drawing in the Hermitage, Leningrad, in the same medium and with similar measurements, that depicts two satyrs carrying a third



Fig. 35.1 The Master L. D., *A Woman Being Carried to a Satyr*. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



Fig. 35.2 The Master L. D., *A Satyr Being Carried to a Woman*. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

in the opposite direction, and it too has been cropped, in this case to eliminate the figure of a woman who was seated at the right.¹ Both scenes were engraved in their entirety by the Master L. D. (see Figs. 35.1, 2),² through whose prints Primaticcio's drawings were widely circulated. The Master L. D. worked at Fontainebleau between 1543 and 1556 and has been identified by some scholars as Léon Davent, or Daven.³

Bartsch credited the invention on which both engravings were based to the Master L. D. himself; Dimier believed the invention was by Primaticcio.⁴ Primaticcio's role in the invention of both scenes has been championed by Béguin. She was the first to identify the Lehman sheet as the original prepared for engraving by the Master L. D. because, like its pendant in the Hermitage, it



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has been gone over with a stylus for transfer to the engraver's plate and is reversed with respect to the print.⁵ Béguin also considered plausible Herbert's hypothesis that, given their licentious subjects, both scenes were devised for the now-destroyed stucco decoration of the Appartement des Bains in the château at Fontainebleau.⁶ As she has pointed out, the style of the drawings corresponds with that of others Primaticcio did in connection with the Appartement des Bains, namely two drawings depicting the story of Callisto, one in the Louvre, the other in the British Museum (both with pedigrees as illustrious as our sheet's, as they come from the Jabach and Mariette collections, respectively),⁷ and another in the Louvre depicting Venus and Mars at the bath.⁸ Because the theme is obviously classical in origin, it is probable, as Dobroklonski has proposed for the Hermitage drawing, that our drawing was inspired by some antique prototype: a sculpture, a piece of jewelry, a vase, or the like.⁹

There can be no argument with the relationships proposed by Béguin, her placement of the Lehman drawing stylistically, or her dating of it shortly before 1547, the year that appears on the engraving. Although the contours of these elegant yet somewhat stiff figures are rather dry compared with Primaticcio's other drawings, which, whether quick sketches or studies from the model, are always highly refined and delicate,¹⁰ this is characteristic of drawings intended for engravings.

PROVENANCE: Pierre-Jean Mariette, Paris (Lugt 1852); Marquis de Lagoy, Aix-en-Provence (Lugt 1710); Charles Greville, England (Lugt 549); his nephew, George Guy Greville, fourth earl of Warwick (Lugt 2600); Victor Koch, London; Koch sale 1923, lot 23; Herbert Lehman.

EXHIBITED: Buffalo 1935, no. 27, fig. 27; Poughkeepsie 1942–44; Paris 1957, no. 121, pl. 61; Cincinnati 1959, no. 219, ill.; New Haven 1960, no. 157, ill.; Tokyo 1977, no. 9, ill.; New York 1979, no. 25, ill.

LITERATURE: Ames 1963, p. 137, pl. 75; Zerner 1969, under no. L.D.81; Zerner in Paris 1972–73, under no. 389; Szabo 1975, p. 104; Szabo 1983, no. 39, ill.

NOTES:

1. Hermitage, 5165; Dobroklonski 1940, no. 312.
2. Bartsch XVI.66, 67; Zerner 1969, pls. L.D.81, 82.
3. The identification of the Master L. D. as Léon Davent was made by Adhémar and Linzeler (1938, p. 286).
4. Dimier 1900, p. 488, no. 224.
5. Béguin in Paris 1957, no. 121.
6. See Herbert (1896–1902) 1969, pp. 5, 23.
7. Louvre, 8521, and British Museum, Malcolm 234; Dimier 1900, nos. 11, 164.
8. Louvre, 8527; *ibid.*, no. 17.
9. In the catalogue of the 1979 exhibition in New York and again in 1983, Szabo maintained that the source for both scenes must have been illuminations in manuscripts, such as Bernardo Parentino's miniature in the *Commentarii in Satyra Juvenalis* by Domizio Calderini (Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, Ms. Plut. 53.2, fol. 57). Frankly, I see no reason to search for such a hermetic source. Primaticcio could scarcely have become acquainted with Calderini's manuscript during his years in France, and in any case the subject of Parentino's miniature is quite different from that of our drawing.
10. See, for example, Béguin's (1982) many significant additions to the Dimier catalogue of 1900.

Biagio Pupini

(called Biagio dalle Lame)

Bologna, documented 1511–1551

Biagio Pupini is first recorded in 1511, working in Faenza on the decoration (now lost) of a chapel in the church of Santa Maria delle Grazie. Documents also place him in Bologna in 1519 and later years (in 1535 he is recorded as a member of the council of the Compagnia delle Quattro Arti). In Bologna, Pupini worked with Bagnacavallo on the frescoes in the convent of San Salvatore and other projects, and it is also known that in 1537 Ercole II d'Este hired him, along with Gerolamo da Carpi, Battista Dossi, Garofalo, and other artists, to decorate the Villa Belriguardo near Ferrara.

The works that can be more securely dated to Pupini's mature years, such as the *Nativity* in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna, probably done shortly after 1527, show him elaborating on the classicism of Raphael. Vasari records a visit to Rome, which is indirectly confirmed by the studies from the antique that figure among Pupini's drawings.

Pupini's drawing style is highly personal, with a vivid handling of light and shadow and a studied carelessness that sometimes verges on the facile.

Biagio Pupini(?)

36. A Winged Figure, Two Women, and a Man

1975.1.408

Pen and brown ink, brush and brown and gray wash, heightened with white, on blue paper. 267 x 411 mm. Annotated in pen and brown ink in a sixteenth-century hand at the top to the right of center: *91 legghi*; below that: *n°: cento diciotto*; and along the top right edge (almost illegible): *Cheru[b] Albert(?)*.

Verso: *The Clemency of Marcus Aurelius*. Pen and brown ink, brush and brown and gray wash heightened with white. Old annotation in pen and ink at the upper right: *Polidoro di Caravag.*

The affinity of the subjects of these two scenes with themes used in his friezes may account for their traditional attribution to Polidoro da Caravaggio, whose name was written on the verso at an early date. (The equally early attribution to Cherubino Alberti written along the top right edge of the recto seems not to have been remarked until now.)¹ The style of these drawings, however, does not correspond with either Polidoro's well-known work or with that of his direct followers (see Nos. 96, 97).

Nor do the scenes depicted here appear among Polidoro's documented works. The figures on the verso do turn up, reversed and with variations, in one of the sketches in the album formerly attributed to Polidoro that is now in the Lugt collection, Paris (Fig. 36.1).² But that scene was not invented by Polidoro; it derives from an antique prototype, a Roman bas-relief (Fig. 36.2) that in the fifteenth century was in the church of Santa Martina in the Roman Forum. In 1515 the relief and two others thought to have decorated the same destroyed arch were transferred at the behest of Leo X to the Palazzo dei Conservatori, where since 1572 they have been installed on the staircase landing. The antique scene shows Marcus Aurelius, on horseback and accompanied by his friend Pompeianus and five foot soldiers, bestowing mercy on two defeated barbarians. Before the relief was restored by Bescapè in 1595, the emperor had no right leg or arm, the horse had no right leg and no head, and the outstretched arms of the figures in the right foreground had also broken off.³ The author of the Lehman sheet faithfully copied the figures, "restoring" the missing parts. He sketched the scene so summarily, however, as to suggest that this drawing might have been intended as an aide-mémoire rather than a true and proper copy.

The theme of the recto is more difficult to identify, but it too was derived from an antique prototype. The three principal figures in the scene appear on a terracotta plaque



Fig. 36.1 *Battle Scene* (fol. 48r, Polidoro Album). Fondation Custodia (Collection Frits Lugt), Institut Néerlandais, Paris



No. 36, recto



Fig. 36.2 *The Clemency of Marcus Aurelius to Barbarians*. Ancient Roman bas-relief in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome. Photograph: Alinari/Art Resource

in the Louvre, the so-called Campana relief that is said to date to the first century B.C.⁴ But as the winged figure on the left (probably a funerary spirit) appears not only in our drawing but also in two other sixteenth-century copies of the same scene, the original source was probably a more imposing relief with all four figures, possibly a sarcophagus with a scene of farewell between husband and wife.

One of the sixteenth-century copies of the scene is in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle and has been published by Dacos as a depiction of an allegory of Concord, possibly by Maturino.⁵ The other, of particular interest to us here, is on the verso of a sheet at Chatsworth that has on its recto a copy of a Roman sarcophagus decorated with the story of Mars and Rhea Silvia.⁶ That sheet (258 x 410 mm) is close in size to ours, and the drawing on the verso (Fig. 36.3) is done in pen and ink with wash and white highlights, in a very similar technique and style. Popham has attributed the Chatsworth sheet to the Bolognese Biagio Pupini, a name that is also of considerable relevance to our drawing.

These figures are treated in a manner much like that of Pupini, the late Bolognese imitator or, more precisely,



No. 36, verso

admirer of Polidoro who is now recognized as the author of many drawings that have traditionally been ascribed to Polidoro but are still in need of further study.⁷ True, our drawings do not match either the greater quality of Pupini's work or the brilliant and erudite Mannerism exemplified by the Chatsworth drawing. They lack sophistication, and they were drawn with a certain haste that did not allow the pen to fully define the forms. The result is an overall summary effect that the wash and white highlights, also hastily executed, do not manage to correct. Yet among the sheets that can be ascribed to Pupini there are some quite similar to these that depict antique subjects and can also be presumed to have been inspired by or copied from sculpted prototypes.⁸ We can therefore conjecture that both sides of this sheet, too, are replicas by Pupini himself: the recto another, albeit less inspired, drawing of a scene he had already copied on the Chatsworth sheet; the verso a quick sketch of a scene from the life of Marcus Aurelius copied from an antique model in a manner similar to the technique he and others had devised for copying Polidoro's friezes, a technique we know also from the sketch of the same subject by a pupil of Polidoro's (Fig. 36.1).

NOTES:

1. Szabo (1983) accepted the attribution to Polidoro and dated the sheet to the late 1510s or soon thereafter.
2. Fondation Custodia, 9601; Byam Shaw 1983, vol. 2, fol. 48r, pl. 49.



Fig. 36.3 Biagio Pupini, *Parting Scene*. Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth; reproduced by permission of the Chatsworth Settlement Trustees. Photograph: Courtauld Institute of Art, London

3. For the bas-relief and its history, see Bober and Rubinstein 1986, no. 163, ill., and also Strong 1926, p. 254, and Becatti 1965, p. 340.
4. Rohden and Winnefeld 1911, pl. 11, p. 245. The "Campana" relief measures 60 x 56 cm.
5. Dacos 1982, p. 24, fig. 40 (without inventory number). Our drawing could be a later copy of the Windsor sheet. I am indebted to Giovanni Agosti and Vincenzo Farinella for calling this publication to my attention, and to them and Piera Bocci for their help in identifying the antique original of the scene.
6. Chatsworth Settlement, Devonshire Collection, 907a, b; Courtauld Institute of Art photographs 308.19.40, 39. A copy of the veiled female figure, cut off at the shoulders, her right hand holding the hand of another figure of which nothing more is visible, is on the verso of Michelangelo's famous drawing *The Virgin and Child and the Infant Saint John the Baptist* in the Royal Library, Windsor Castle (12773; Popham and Wilde [1949] 1984, no. 426; the verso is reproduced in Tolnay 1975–80, vol. 2, no. 247v). Popham and Wilde noted that it was Woodward who identified the Louvre relief as the source of that figure, which is not in Michelangelo's hand. The three principal figures (without the winged figure at the left, as in the Louvre relief) also appear on one of the sheets (fol. 7C, recto; Biblioteca Reale, Turin, 14760) in the "Roman sketchbook" attributed to Gerolamo da Carpi. In his discussion of that sheet, Canedy (1976, pp. 88–89, 153) mentioned the drawing at Chatsworth, which he said was attributed to Biagio Pupini, as well as the female figure on the verso of the sheet at Windsor, which he ascribed to Sebastiano del Piombo.
7. Many of the drawings generically referred to Polidoro or his school, examples of which exist in all the major collections (see Ravelli 1978, nos. 962–75), should also be attributed to Pupini. For a recent profile of Pupini as a painter and as a draftsman, see Fioravanti Baraldi in Fortunati Pietrantonio et al. 1986, pp. 185–208.
8. See, for example, the *Antique Scene, Battle on Horseback, and Neptune in His Chariot* in the National Gallery, Edinburgh (D2978, D3076, RSA258; Andrews 1968, nos. 700, 701, 703); the *Composition of Six Nude Men* in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Parker 1956, no. 498); the *Fragment of an Antique Triumph and Battle with Amazons* (with a nude man and torso, a copy of a drawing by Michelangelo, on the verso) in the Royal Library, Windsor Castle (5487, 5435; Popham and Wilde [1949] 1984, nos. 784, 785, fig. 147); the *Madonna and Child with Saint Elizabeth and the Infant Saint John the Baptist* in the Louvre, Paris (8844; Ravelli 1978, no. 972, ill.); and the *Battle of the Amazons*, attributed to Pupini by Pouncey (oral communication, 1965), *Two Antique Statues*, and *Bacchic Cortège* in the Uffizi, Florence (17230F, 14790F, 1477F; the last two: photographs S.B.A.S. 126411, 126401). See also two further sheets in the Uffizi on themes not directly derived from antique models: *Circe* (13183F), copied from the famous engraving by Parmigianino and attributed to Pupini by Oberhuber (oral communication), and *Allegorical Figures* (1274S; photograph S.B.A.S. 251168), formerly attributed, significantly, to Polidoro and related to Pupini by Forlani Tempesti (handwritten note on the mount).

PROVENANCE: Not established.

EXHIBITED: Northampton (Mass.) 1942–44; New York 1979, no. 15A, B, ill.

LITERATURE: Dacos 1982, p. 28, n. 63; Szabo 1983, no. 34, ill.; Bober and Rubinstein 1986, under no. 163.



No. 37

Lombardy–The Veneto

Mid-sixteenth century

37. The Return of the Prodigal Son

1975.I.257

Pen and brown ink, over traces of black chalk. 171 x 240 mm. Lower right corner made up. Annotated in pencil at the lower right: 70. Annotated in gray ink on the verso in a seventeenth- or eighteenth-century hand: *Morone scolaro / di Paolo Veronese*. Watermark: globe with cross.

The old annotation on the verso perhaps offers a clue in the search for the author of this drawing, but only by pointing to a Venetian-influenced environment on the mainland about the middle of the sixteenth century. The suggestion of either Domenico or Francesco Morone (see Nos. 23, 25) must simply be ruled out from the start,

not only because they preceded Paolo Veronese and so could not have been his pupils but also because their graphic work is technically more complex than what we have here and both stylistically much superior in quality and representative of an earlier period. Nor can one consider the various members of the del Moro family, whose drawing styles also do not accord with this sketch.¹ Which leaves Giovanni Battista Moroni, who was from Bergamo rather than Verona, but not a single drawing by him comes to our aid, and his paintings, with their very different style and, above all, quality, do not support such a possibility.²

What does remain plausible is the Venetian, if not specifically Veronese, reference, particularly when one remembers what some Venetian artists achieved away from their home territory. Certain elements in our drawing bring to mind, for example, the frescoes Marcello Fogolino (see No. 86) painted in the Palazzo Vescovile at Ascoli Piceno in the Marche: the inexpertly defined classical architecture; the disproportionate figures, of Mannerist type but still with neo-Gothic echoes; and the "furry" pen lines, which recall the Veronese Gian Francesco Caroto (see No. 27).³

It remains extremely difficult, however, to go beyond a generic attribution for this strange drawing because of the lack of possible comparisons. The short pen strokes and the types of the figures, with their disjointed limbs, do show a certain affinity to two drawings that are, however, somewhat different from each other: a *Male Portrait* in the Uffizi, Florence, traditionally attributed to Giorgione but now catalogued as school of Titian,⁴ and a *Man Striding with Two Children in His Arms* in the Biblioteca Reale, Turin, formerly attributed to Penni but now ascribed to an anonymous Italian, perhaps Lombard, of the second half of the sixteenth century.⁵ Our drawing seems to belong halfway between these two: the broad composition and the open, luminous penwork suggest an artist of the Titianesque ambient, such as Campagnola (see Nos. 29–31), while the figures, placed so as to use all the available space and defined by cursive penwork that conveys a Mannerist agitation, are in a general sense allied with Lombard draftsmen, from the Campi to Boccaccino or Figino.⁶ One other related sheet, with three figures, was on the London art market in 1955, when it was attributed to Aspertini or Beccafumi.⁷ But that drawing is finer than ours, for all that it reveals the same uncertainties.

The diversity of the attributions of even those few sheets

with which our drawing can be compared shows how difficult it is to place it. When Szabo exhibited this sheet in New York in 1979 he left it anonymous as "North Italian artist, possibly Venice, first half sixteenth century."⁸ In 1955 Berenson apparently brought up the name of Bramantino,⁹ thus suggesting a Lombard origin but one much too early to help in even a general exploration of that school. This drawing lacks the tension and vigor that characterize the work of Lombard artists of the mid-sixteenth century, even those, like the Campi of Cremona, who were closest to the Veneto. The broad layout of the scene, with its Sansovinesque buildings and figures in Eastern costume, does direct us toward a Venetian-oriented artist who though not particularly capable was also not uncultured. Yet for want of better comparisons it seems preferable to leave his artistic setting vague.

NOTES:

1. For drawings by the members of the del Moro family of Verona, see Venice–Verona 1971, nos. 13–23, 77–83, 123, 124.
2. See Bergamo 1979.
3. See Venice–Verona 1971, no. 12.
4. Uffizi, 7376s; photograph S.B.A.S. 66674, Gernsheim 10142.
5. Biblioteca Reale, 15808; Bertini 1958, no. 523.
6. See the various examples given by Bora (Milan 1971) and in Cremona 1985.
7. Sale, Beer Gallery, London, November 1955.
8. Szabo read the writing on the back as *Morone a Paolo Veronese*.
9. A note in the Robert Lehman Collection files refers to a letter of February 1955 and to a note Berenson is said to have written on a photograph of the drawing. Bramantino's name still appears on the photograph in the library at the Harvard Center for Renaissance Studies at Villa I Tatti, Florence.

PROVENANCE: Ludwig Pollak, Rome (Lugt Suppl. 788b).

EXHIBITED: New York 1979, no. 32, ill.

Giovanni-Battista Franco

(called Il Semolei)

Venice ca. 1510–Venice 1561

Battista Franco arrived in Rome at the age of twenty, or so Vasari, who knew him personally, reported. Franco spent some years training himself drawing copies of the work of Michelangelo and other artists he admired before he received his first commission as a painter: collaborating with Raffaele da Montelupo on the decorations for Charles V's entry into Rome on April 5, 1536. Shortly thereafter Franco went to Florence to help with the decorations for the king's entry there, and he stayed on to work for the court of Duke Cosimo I de' Medici. He returned to Rome in 1541. About 1544 he was summoned by Guidobaldo II to the ducal court at Urbino, where he was set to work not only painting frescoes but also producing designs for majolica. He evidently made trips to Rome between 1548 and 1550 to undertake various commissions, including designing stage sets, but by 1551 he had also completed the decoration of the vault in the choir of the cathedral of Urbino.

Franco spent the last ten years of his life in his native Venice, where he worked in the church of San Francesco della Vigna, the Libreria di San Marco, and the Palazzo Ducale, as well as on decorative projects that allowed his brilliant and fluent technique free rein. Franco's special talent is most evident in his many drawings, most of them in pen, some in chalk, but almost always in simple outlining with little shading. His style is typical of an engraver and of a prolific copyist of classical antiquities.

Giovanni-Battista Franco(?)

38. Skull in Profile

1975.I.326

Pen and brown ink. 99 x 69 mm. Laid down. Rounded at the top.

This sheet, from the renowned collection of the English portraitist Sir Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830), came to Robert Lehman with an evidently traditional attribution to Battista Franco.¹ The drawing is clearly related to other anatomical studies by Franco. It is typical of the half-scientific, half-necrophilic taste that can be seen in the work of several artists of central and, perhaps by reflection,



No. 38

northern Italy of the mid-sixteenth century.² Franco, like his contemporaries, was doubtless well acquainted with the celebrated anatomical treatise *De humani corporis fabrica libri septem* published in Basel in 1543 by Andreas Vesalius, a Fleming who was professor of surgery at the University of Padua from 1537 to 1542. Vesalius's treatise is illustrated with fine woodcuts at least some of which, it is said, were designed by Titian himself. Vesalius intended it not only as a medical textbook but also as a tool for artists, who did indeed prove to be a receptive audience.³

Franco made his own contribution to the dissemination of this type of study, which was particularly suited to his manner of drawing primarily in outline, with extremely delicate parallel or barely interwoven lines to indicate shadows, a technique that translates readily to engraving. His thorough knowledge of the subject is apparent in the six anatomical drawings now in the Cleveland Museum of Art, all of which, like ours, bear the



Fig. 38.1 Giovanni-Battista Franco, *Sheet of Osteological Studies*. Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna

collectors' marks of Thomas Lawrence and Boguslaw Jolles.⁴ Both Richards, in 1965, and Kornell, in 1989, have remarked the striking resemblance of three of the sheets in Cleveland – fragments of drawings of skeletons shown in front, rear, and side views that are believed to be part of a single composition – to illustrations in Vesalius's *Tabulae anatomicae sex* (a set of six woodcuts published in 1538) and the *Fabrica* of 1543.⁵ The Lehman drawing may be a detail study for the *Half-Length Skeleton in Profile* in Cleveland, which bears the marks of a stylus and appears in reverse in Franco's large engraving *Sheet of Osteological Studies* (Fig. 38.1).⁶ Or it may be, as Kornell has suggested, a copy of the Cleveland drawing.

NOTES:

1. In a letter of October 26, 1960 (Robert Lehman Collection files), Agnes Mongan of the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts, advised Robert Lehman that she was sending him a drawing by Giovanni-Battista Franco, a *Head and Neck of a Human Skeleton*, that she had ordered from the catalogue of Zeitlin and Ver Brugge Booksellers of Los Angeles. She suggested that he keep the drawing if he wished. The price was \$100.
2. See Florence 1984a.
3. For the *Fabrica*, see Muraro and Rosand in Venice 1976b and in Washington, D.C.–Dallas–Detroit 1976, pp. 211–35.

The names of Domenico Campagnola and Jan Stephan van Calcar, a pupil of Titian's, have also been associated with the illustrations.

4. Cleveland Museum of Art, 64.378-83; Richards 1965, figs. 1–6; Kornell 1989, figs. 1–3, 13–15. Kornell (p. 319, n. 1) notes that the Cleveland drawings (one of which is in two pieces) account for seven of the ten skeleton studies that were in the Lawrence collection and were sold in the Woodburn sale in 1860 as lot 405, which the sale catalogue describes as “a singular collection of anatomical drawings. Admirably drawn with the pen.” The three other drawings from the set are a *Skull and Skull Fragments* in the collection of Vincent Price, Los Angeles (ibid., fig. 12); a *Study of Leg Bones* in the Menil Collection, Houston (ibid., fig. 7); and this Lehman sheet, which Kornell considers a copy of the skull and neck of the *Half-Length Skeleton in Profile* in Cleveland. These same ten sheets were undoubtedly lot 240 in the Jolles sale in 1895, which the catalogue describes as “ten sheets, various skeletal studies.” The drawings in Cleveland were given to the museum by Mr. and Mrs. Claude Cassirer of Cleveland in 1964; before that they were owned by Cassirer's grandfather Professor Otto Neubauer, a noted physician in Munich.
5. The Vesalius illustrations are reproduced in Kornell 1989, figs. 8, 9. Richards first suggested in 1965 that the three drawings (one of which is in two pieces) may have been cut from the same sheet. In her 1989 article Kornell confirms that the four fragments are indeed from one drawing, which can be reconstructed by comparison with *Three Skeletons in a Landscape* (ibid., figs. 4, 5), a drawing by Franco that she has discovered on two separate folios in an album once owned by the English physician Sir Hans Sloane (1660–1773) and now in the Manuscripts Room of the British Library in London. Kornell argues further that all six drawings in Cleveland (the three others show arm bones, rib cages, and torsos with rib cages), plus the *Skulls and Skull Fragments* owned by Vincent Price and the *Study of Leg Bones* in Houston, are part of a single composition: three skeletons in a landscape bordered at the top by a frieze of skulls, at the left and right by leg and arm bones, and at the bottom by torsos and rib cages. The *Sheet of Osteological Studies* (Fig. 38.1) would then be only the upper right corner of the much more elaborate engraving Franco had in mind.
6. Bartsch XVI.141.69; Zerner 1979a, no. 69(141), p. 225. See also two smaller engravings after Franco: *Various Skulls*, which continues the border of skulls in the large engraving, and *Skulls of Various Animals* (Bartsch XVI.155.4, 5; Zerner 1979a, nos. 4[155], 5[155], pp. 250–51).

PROVENANCE: Thomas Lawrence, London (Lugt 2445); Samuel Woodburn, London; Woodburn sale 1860, lot 405; Boguslaw Jolles, Dresden and Vienna (Lugt Suppl. 381a); Jolles sale 1895, lot 240; [Zeitlin and Ver Brugge Booksellers, Los Angeles]. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1960.

EXHIBITED: New York 1979, no. 21, ill.

LITERATURE: Kornell 1989, p. 319, n. 1.

Paolo Veronese

(Paolo Caliari)

Verona 1528–Venice 1588

Paolo Veronese is documented as early as 1541 in Verona, as an apprentice to the painter Antonio Badile, whose daughter he would marry in 1566. It was in Verona that Veronese produced his first works, most notably the Bevilacqua altarpiece for the priory of San Fermo Maggiore in 1548. Three years later he was hired with Giambattista Zelotti, who was also from Verona, to paint frescoes in the Villa Soranza in Castelfranco Veneto (fragments are now in Castelfranco Cathedral and elsewhere). That commission proved to be the first step in Veronese's long career as a creator of sumptuous decorations for patrician dwellings, the high point of which was his collaboration with Palladio on the Villa Barbaro at Maser.

About 1553–55 Veronese moved to Venice, where he worked on the ceiling of the Sala del Consiglio dei Dieci in the Palazzo Ducale and began to decorate the church of San Sebastiano, a task that would occupy him on and off for the next fifteen years. Except for a brief visit to Rome in 1560, he remained in Venice for the rest of his life. His imagery, his sensibility, and his feeling for light and color became the very essence of what we associate with Venetian art. Veronese's personal idiom reflects his debt to Titian, whom he venerated as "the father of art," and Tintoretto, with whom he shared the leadership of the local school. But there are also traces in his work of the Mannerism of Parmigianino, Giulio Romano, and Moretto. (Some of his drawings of heads have in fact been confused with Moretto's.)

Veronese was extraordinarily productive, and he headed a thriving workshop that included his brother Benedetto and his sons Carletto and Gabriele. The workshop turned out altarpieces, large narrative paintings such as those done for the Sala del Collegio and other halls in the Palazzo Ducale in the late 1570s, and large, imposing religious scenes such as the huge banquets now in the Galleria Sabauda, Turin (*Christ at Supper with Simon the Pharisee*, 1560); the Louvre, Paris (*Marriage at Cana*, 1562–63); and the Accademia, Venice (*Feast in the House of Levi*, 1573) – works filled with richly detailed architectural settings and genre figures interpreted with such profane license that the *Feast in the House of Levi* earned Veronese a trial before the Inquisition.

Most of Veronese's many drawings are rapid pen sketches, but he also left some carefully finished studies in charcoal and wash highlighted with white on blue paper that were obviously ends in themselves.

School of Paolo Veronese

39. Head of a Bearded Man

1975.I.544

Black chalk, heightened with white, on greenish blue paper. 262 x 200 mm. Abraded and discolored; recently restored and water stains removed. Annotated in pen and brown ink at the lower left in a seventeenth-century hand: *Di Paolo Veronese*; in black chalk at the lower right: *B / 10*, and on the verso: *9*. Watermark: anchor in a circle. Part of the heightening on the recto is repeated on the verso.

Despite its prestigious traditional attribution to Paolo Veronese, this drawing has had little attention from scholars, perhaps in part because of its poor condition.¹ Aside from its being sent to Poughkeepsie during World War II, it has been shown only twice, in Buffalo in 1935 and in New York in 1979, and only the Tietzes and Szabo have discussed it. The catalogues of the Buffalo and New York exhibitions repeated the attribution to Veronese, as did Szabo in 1983. The Tietzes, however, decided that "while the type of the profile seems to fit, or at least not to contradict Veronese's art, the penmanship is definitely not his."²

Szabo has pointed out this drawing's connection with the portrait of Antonio Maria Marogna in the *Madonna and Child with Saints Anthony and John the Baptist and Antonio Maria and Giambattista Marogna* (Fig. 39.1), the altarpiece Veronese painted for the Marogna family chapel built in 1565 in San Paolo, Verona. The painting is thought to date from that time, and it is generally accepted as autograph, although certain portions of it, notably the donors' portraits, were executed by assistants.³ The portraits of the Marogna brothers may well have been done directly after a drawing by the master, however, and the heads are so absolutely characteristic of him that Szabo was justified in attributing our drawing to Veronese himself.

No other studies for the Marogna altarpiece are known, but the medium and technique of this drawing are typical of so many by Veronese, and in certain more readable details, such as the eye and the garment, the charcoal was applied with an intensity that recalls drawings securely attributed to him. It should be stressed, however, that the sheet is difficult to read because of the deterioration of the paper and the considerable damage to the rather fine linework and modeling. Nonetheless, the profile is somewhat more confined within the outline and the lines in the beard and hair are stiffer than in Veronese's secure drawings, which are always more vibrant and expressive. One need only consider, for example, the famous *Head of a Negro Boy* in the Louvre, Paris;⁴ the



No. 39



Fig. 39.1 Paolo Veronese, *Madonna and Child with Saints Anthony and John the Baptist and Antonio Maria and Giambattista Marogna*. Church of San Paolo, Verona. Photograph: *Veronese and Verona* (exhib. cat., Museo di Castelvecchio, Verona, 1988), no. 12

Head of a Negro formerly owned by Robert Lehman;⁵ and the superb *Study for the Portrait of a Lady* recently acquired by the Louvre.⁶

The drawings stylistically most related to ours – four studies, from different viewpoints, of heads of bearded men of the same physical type as the Marogna brothers – are all of uncertain attribution: a Titianesque *Head of a Prelate* at Chatsworth;⁷ a *Head of a Bearded Man* in the Bertel Hintze collection, Helsinki, that has been attributed to Savoldo, Bassano, Lotto, Veronese, and Moretto;⁸ a *Portrait of a Prelate* in the Graphische Sammlung, Munich, traditionally attributed to Veronese but also ascribed to Moretto and Paris Bordone;⁹ and a *Head of a Bearded Man Looking Up to the Right* in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (Fig. 39.2), attributed to Bordone, Titian, Moretto, and Veronese.¹⁰ The drawing in Berlin is closest to ours in type and general appearance, though the linework and sfumato are freer.

Even considering its close connection with the figure in the Marogna altarpiece, our drawing cannot, it seems, lay claim to the authorship of Veronese himself. Although certain variations in viewpoint and clothing might suggest that what we have here is one of several studies for the Marogna altarpiece, it is more likely that the drawing was produced in Veronese's workshop by someone executing the donors' portraits on precise instructions from the master. This could be, as Rearick has suggested, a copy of a lost drawing by Veronese for the Marogna altarpiece.¹¹ Or it is also possible, even probable, that a pupil or imitator may have sketched the head directly from Veronese's altarpiece with the intention of using it in some composition of his own.

NOTES:

1. The drawing is not mentioned in Cocke 1984a or in such studies on Veronese as Pignatti 1976, the new edition of Hadeln (1978), and Badt 1981.
2. Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. A2125.



Fig. 39.2 Attributed to Paolo Veronese, *Head of a Bearded Man Looking Up to the Right*. Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin. Photograph: Jörg P. Anders

3. See Verona 1980, no. VIII.22, ill.; and, for the autograph character of the painting, Pignatti 1976, no. 133; Hadeln 1978, p. 70; Badt 1981, p. 69, fig. 45; and Verona 1988, no. 12.
4. Louvre, 4679; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. A2133; Cocke 1984a, no. 54.
5. Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. A2108, pl. 196.1; New York 1965–66, no. 131, ill.; Cocke 1984a, no. 68.
6. Louvre, RF38.929; Bacou 1983, no. 6, ill.
7. Chatsworth Settlement, Devonshire Collection, 910; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 1982, pl. 73.1 (as probably workshop of Titian). This drawing, which bears an old ascription to Titian, is the most schematic in the group. The treatment of the beard is analogous to that in our drawing.
8. Ibid., no. 1411, pl. 58.1 (as Savoldo, though they had not seen the original). See also Peters 1965, p. 188.
9. Graphische Sammlung, 12893; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 2118 (as Veronese). See also Cocke 1984a, no. 193.
10. Kupferstichkabinett, KK5733; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 1878, pl. 66.2 (as Titian). See also Peters 1965, p. 175.
11. Oral communication, 1986.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Verona.

EXHIBITED: Buffalo 1935, no. 30, ill.; Poughkeepsie 1942–44; New York 1979, no. 46, ill.

LITERATURE: Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. A2125; Szabo 1983, no. 46, ill.; Metropolitan Museum 1987, p. 144, fig. 108.

Leandro Bassano

(Leandro da Ponte)

Bassano 1557–Venice 1622

The Bassano family – notably Jacopo and his two most accomplished sons, Francesco and Leandro – left its mark on the art of its time with religious and narrative scenes transformed into slices of city or peasant life that became widely known through painted replicas and engravings. Trained in his father's workshop, Leandro continued to work there well into his mature years, producing paintings like the portrait of the Podestà Cappello now in the Museo Civico, Bassano. After first his father's and then Francesco's death in 1592, Leandro took over the Venetian branch of the family workshop. In Venice he completed paintings left unfinished at Francesco's death, and he worked in the Palazzo Ducale. But he was most successful as a portraitist, a talent that earned him the honorary title of *eques* from Doge Grimani.

If in portraiture Leandro modeled himself after Tintoretto, in his genre scenes he naturally enough followed the example of his father's late works. As a result, his own paintings and numerous drawings are often confused with those of Jacopo and his highly active workshop.

Copy after Leandro(?) Bassano

40. Kitchen Scene

1975.I.248

Pen and brown ink, brown wash. 331 x 230 mm. Inscribed in block letters (partly effaced by reddish ink) on the base of the hearth at the left: *ZVANE BITTAN* ≡ *FECIT* (Zuan Bittan made it). Watermark unreadable.

Verso: *Ecce Homo*, with half-length figures and a caricatural sketch. Pen and dark brown ink (probably by another hand). Annotated in pen in block letters at the bottom: *IVD[EO]*.

According to a note in the Robert Lehman Collection files, it was Berenson who first mentioned the name Bassano in connection with this drawing.¹ In the catalogue of the New York exhibition of 1979, however, Szabo included the recto as "Venetian artist" and the verso as "Italian artist," both from the second half of the sixteenth century. The block lettering on the base of the fireplace is perhaps autograph, but it is difficult to decipher because it has been gone over in reddish ink.



No. 40, recto



No. 40, verso



Fig. 40.1 Jan Sadeler after Jacopo Bassano, *Dives and Lazarus*. Rijksprentenkabinet (Printroom) Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

“Zuane” is Giovanni in Venetian, but “Bittan” makes no sense, unless it is a corruption of Bassano.

The scene on the recto is a faithful reproduction of the group of figures busy at their tasks in the kitchen at the left in *Dives and Lazarus*, a Bassano composition of which several versions exist. The best-known version is a painting in the Gemäldegalerie, Vienna, that is attributed to Leandro.² Other versions with variations are in the Prado, Madrid; in Cádiz; in Prague; and elsewhere. The entire composition was copied, without reversal, in an engraving by Sadeler after an original ascribed to Jacopo Bassano (Fig. 40.1).³ The author of our drawing probably took

the composition from that engraving, for it has the hatched linework characteristic of derivations from engravings. Although enriched by touches of wash for a more painterly effect, the treatment is in general extremely dry and stiff, typical of a student's copy.

The composition on the verso also seems to have been derived from an engraving, or perhaps intended to be reproduced as one. The drawing technique is even stiffer here; as Szabo recognized, this sketch is probably by a different hand than that on the recto. If the first hand is still of the seventeenth century, then the second would appear to date from the eighteenth, but the poor quality precludes any more precise attribution.

NOTES:

1. The undated sheet in the files refers to a note Berenson made on the back of a photograph of the drawing. The same sheet also says that there was once a modern slip of paper on the back of the drawing with an attribution to “Giacomo Bassano.”
2. Gemäldegalerie, 301 inv. 1547; Arslan 1960, p. 382, and also pp. 221, 334, 351.
3. Hollstein 1949–, vol. 21, p. 113, no. 200; Franz 1965, fig. 35. The engraving is inscribed along the bottom edge *Bassan invet. Ioä Sadeler sc.*, along with the imperial privilege and a reference to the Gospel according to Saint Luke; below, in two lines, is a dedication to Johannes Albertus à Sprinzenstain et Neuhaus that ends with *pinxit Iacobus de Ponte Bassan: et Sereniss. Bauarię Ducis chalcograph: Ioän Sadeler scalps. et dd.* It is not dated.

PROVENANCE: Not established.

EXHIBITED: New York 1979, no. 64A, B, ill.



No. 41

Friuli(?)

Late sixteenth century

41. Saint Stephen and Other Saints on Clouds

1975.I.247

Black chalk, touches of red chalk in the contours of the figure behind Saint Stephen; squared in black chalk. 149 x 298 mm. Upper corners made up. An annotation in ink on the verso, perhaps in an eighteenth-century hand, has been obliterated with other ink and is now illegible.

This sheet appears to be quite close in style to the work of Pordenone and Amalteo, two Friulian artists often confused with each other. (See No. 27, for which it has been possible to propose some tentative comparisons with drawings by Pordenone and Amalteo.) Not that this permits any precise attribution either to these artists themselves or to their immediate circle, however.¹ This drawing has a heavier quality, and there is a discontinuity, almost a dichotomy, between the right and left parts of the scene, the ideas being more improvised and sketchlike in the figure of Saint Stephen and the monks surrounding him, more thought out and compact in the saints at the right.

In both Pordenone's and Amalteo's work one also finds stylistic diversities according to the degree of finish, but the differences are usually on separate sheets, even when

they are of the same period, and not on the same sheet, or at any rate not to the extent seen here. Pordenone's *Callisto and the Nymphs* of about 1515 in the Louvre, Paris,² for example, differs stylistically from his two contemporary studies in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan, for a Holy Family.³ The *Lamentation over the Dead Christ* (recto) and *Studies of Figures for the Lamentation* (verso) in the British Museum, London, both studies for the *Pietà* Pordenone frescoed in Cremona Cathedral in 1522,⁴ also differ among themselves, and so do the preparatory drawings he made about 1532–33 for the frescoes in the Palazzo Tinghi, Udine (now mostly destroyed).⁵

Among Amalteo's drawings, more particularly, one finds the studies *Christ Carrying the Cross* in the Uffizi, Florence (for the fresco in Santa Croce, Baseglia), with its more fragmented figures,⁶ and *The Sacrifice of Isaac* in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rennes (for one of the pendentives in Santa Maria dei Battuti in San Vito al Tagliamento).⁷ Both of those drawings are in pen, however, and the difference in medium makes it more difficult to venture a comparison between them and our sheet beyond noting a generic similarity in the types of figures (especially the bearded figures) and in the emphasis on the setting.

The affinities with Pordenone's and Amalteo's work are therefore at best general, and they apply chiefly to the right half of our drawing. The lighter linework and dashes and the undulating clouds and drapery in the left part, by contrast, strike one as being of a later date, toward the end of the century and thus well beyond the impetuous Romanism of the two heads of the Friulian school and oriented instead toward a more relaxed, luministic approach with something of a Venetian character about it.⁸

The squaring and the clearly defined subject matter both indicate that this was a study for a quite precise purpose, perhaps, as Szabo suggested in the catalogue of the exhibition in New York in 1979, a wall painting. The oblong format, the effect of the perspective of the background curving in toward the center, and the somewhat *sotto in su* treatment of the figures all appear to confirm the hypothesis that this was a preparatory drawing for a fresco in an apsidal vault. For the present no particular destination can be hazarded, though one would like to think that it was one of the churches and chapels the great scholar Cavalcaselle visited in the Friuli region in the nineteenth century.⁹

NOTES:

1. That there has been little critical study of this drawing makes a precise attribution even more difficult. In the catalogue for the Oppenheimer sale of 1936, where Robert Lehman ac-

quired this sheet (it was sold in the same lot as Nos. 33 and 95, with which it has nothing in common), it was listed simply as "Anonymous, Italian School," and when the drawing was shown in New York in 1979 Szabo catalogued it as "North Italian artist, first half sixteenth century."

2. Louvre, 4649; Cohen 1980, p. 108, fig. 4.
3. Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Cod. F.271.39, .41; *ibid.*, p. 98, figs. 5, 6. The two studies also differ from figure to figure; the Madonna in the second study, for instance, like the figure of Saint Stephen on the left in our drawing, is drawn with a broken line.
4. British Museum, 1958.2.8.1; *ibid.*, p. 83, figs. 24, 25. These studies have a finished perfection that relates them to the sainted bishop on the right in our drawing.
5. See *ibid.*, p. 145.
6. Uffizi, 1751F; Cohen 1973, pp. 243–45, pl. 2.
7. Musée des Beaux-Arts, C.29-3; *ibid.*, pp. 252–53, pl. 8.
8. Francesco Bassano's *Assumption of the Virgin* in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (A1407; Venice–Florence 1985, no. 33) is a typical example of a Venetian drawing done in the same kind of broken, luminous line as that in the left part of our drawing.
9. None of the many sketches Cavalcaselle made of the paintings he studied during his travels, however, can be related to this composition. See Cavalcaselle (1876) 1973 and also Levi 1988.

PROVENANCE: Henry Oppenheimer, London; Oppenheimer sale 1936, lot 36A. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1936.

EXHIBITED: Northampton (Mass.) 1942–44; Tokyo 1977, no. 8, ill.; New York 1979, no. 33, ill.

The Veneto

Late sixteenth century

42. Hunting Scene and Lions Attacking Animals

1975.I.251

Pen and brown ink, touches of brush and brown wash, on brownish paper; retouched (by a later hand) in pen and brown ink in one lion's tail and leg, in the bull's face and tail, and in the dogs' faces. 222 x 159 mm. Left edge torn; lower right corner restored; upper right corner made up; hole at lower right patched.

Identifying the author of this drawing, or even assigning it a date, is made more difficult by the poor state of conservation of the paper, which appears to have been subjected to excessive washing in the course of previous restorations. In consequence, the linework has become so blurred as to require retouching in some areas and to be almost illegible in others, for example at the bottom, where one can barely see the outline of a lion and another figure.

In the catalogue of the exhibition in New York in 1979 Szabo attributed this drawing to an anonymous North Italian artist of the first half of the sixteenth century, and he referred to the many other representations of lions attacking horses or bulls in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italian art. The prototypes for these drawings and engravings were often classical Greek and Roman sculptures. As Szabo noted, the Lehman drawing echoes in particular the famous and much-copied marble group with a lion attacking a horse that stood on the Piazza del Campidoglio in Rome during the sixteenth century and is now in the Musei Capitolini, Rome.¹ The differences between the two, however, are enough to suggest that our artist might have been inspired by some other model that incorporated a second lion and figures of hunters and dogs. It is also possible that the group at the left with a human figure (perhaps a huntress-nymph) and three dogs derives from a separate prototype. Whatever the case, neither of these scenes, separately or together, appears to have been treated in earlier drawings or in model books.² That fact, along with the markedly sparse line and the painterly modeling with wash, suggests a date far from the Quattrocento tradition and connected instead with the classicist sensibilities of the late Cinquecento, if not with outright seventeenth-century currents.

The pictorial effects bring to mind an artist of the Veneto, but oriented more toward Verona than Venice proper. The rhythmic patches of wash and the simplified shapes, for example the woman's face and the man's hand,

recall certain drawings by Veronese artists, among them the *Two Studies of a Woman* by Paolo Farinati in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, which has linework analogous to that in our drawing;³ the *Concert* attributed to Marco Angelo del Moro in the Terence Mullaly collection, London;⁴ the *Roman Scene* attributed to Francesco Montemezzano in the National Gallery, Edinburgh;⁵ and the studies of a scene of offering by Felice Brusasorci on both sides of a sheet also in the Mullaly collection.⁶ For all that they lack any indication of the Mannerism evident to a greater or lesser degree in those examples, the figures in our drawing do bear some resemblance to the lions and other animals in the frieze on the facade of the Palazzo Murari in Verona, which has been attributed to another Brusasorci, Domenico.⁷ Nonetheless, it is impossible to go beyond a vague reference to Verona and to define more precisely either the school or the date, not least because the drawing affords so little to go by.

NOTES:

1. See Haskell and Penny 1981, no. 54, fig. 128.
2. As a rule one finds rather different groups of animals in model books; for these types of drawings inspired by antique prototypes and intended to be repeated as exempla, see Degenhart and Schmitt 1963.
3. Nationalmuseum, 1439/1863; Venice–Verona 1971, no. 45.
4. Ibid., no. 78.
5. Ibid., no. 87.
6. Ibid., no. 101.
7. For the facade, see Schweikhart 1973, no. 126.

PROVENANCE: Ludwig Pollak, Rome (Lugt Suppl. 788b).

EXHIBITED: New York 1979, no. 31, ill.



No. 42

Jacopo Tintoretto

(Jacopo Robusti, called Tintoretto)

Venice 1518–Venice 1594

It is not clear who Tintoretto's teachers were, but the names of Titian, Bonifacio de' Pitati, Schiavone, and Paris Bordone are usually proposed. That he took his drawing from Michelangelo and his color from Titian is one of those simplifications destined more to be repeated than to be taken seriously by scholars.

Tintoretto's art was probably formed in an ambient that interwove Tuscan-Roman influences with vivid suggestions derived from Parmigianino. This was the dominant culture in Venice about mid-century, and it left its mark on Bassano and Schiavone as well. Tintoretto translated that heritage into paintings of vast proportions for churches, confraternities, and secular buildings, most notably the Scuola di San Rocco and the Palazzo Ducale in Venice. Although he worked with oils on canvas, his large paintings made him a worthy competitor of the great masters of fresco in Florence and Rome.

Of no less importance is Tintoretto's work as a brilliant portraitist and his abundant production of drawings, which have been much sought after since his own

time. His studies all focus on the human figure, often nude and in movement, and were almost exclusively made in connection with his paintings.

Jacopo Tintoretto

43. Reclining Male Figure

1975.I.532

Black chalk on blue paper; squared in black chalk. 169 x 320 mm. Annotated in brown ink at the lower right in an eighteenth-century hand: *G. Tintoretto*.

Verso: Study for a Crucified Christ. Black chalk.

This sheet was first shown in the exhibition of Venetian drawings that opened in Washington, D.C., in 1974. In his entry for the exhibition catalogue Pignatti compared the figure on the recto with a study by Jacopo Tintoretto in the Uffizi, Florence, for the *Saint Theodore* of about 1564 on the ceiling of the Sala dell'Albergo in the Scuola



di San Rocco in Venice¹ and, even more appropriately, with a study in the British Museum, London, for the man with upraised arms standing in the background of the *Discovery of the Body of Saint Mark* of about 1562 in the Brera, Milan.² In 1975 Rossi observed the even stronger stylistic resemblance between the Lehman sheet and another drawing in the British Museum,³ a study of a clothed male figure (Fig. 43.1) that Hadeln had already recognized in 1922 as preparatory to one of the soldiers in the *Resurrection* formerly in the Alsberg collection, Berlin.⁴ Our figure is analogous in style and pose to that drawing and must certainly have been done about the same time. That it can be matched with none of Jacopo's painted figures is somewhat unexpected, as we know that his drawings were almost always done in preparation for paintings. It is hard to imagine that this study, squared as it is and of a far from usual pose, was not devised from the outset to be transferred to canvas.

The figure on the recto can also be related to other studies for the paintings in the Scuola di San Rocco, among them the *Reclining Male Nude* in the Uffizi for the *Saint Mark* on the ceiling of the Sala dell'Albergo;⁵ the *Male Figure Bending Down* in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, for the man on the ladder below Christ in the *Crucifixion*;⁶ and the *Seated Male Figure* in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, for the soldier on horseback at the right in the same painting.⁷



Fig. 43.1 Jacopo Tintoretto, *Study of a Clothed Male Figure*. British Museum, London. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum



No. 43, verso

The figure on the verso here (which Rossi did not accept as by Tintoretto) can be related to the *Crucifixion* in San Rocco as well, not so much for any analogy with the Christ in the painting as for its typological similarity to the figure, with legs much like these, sketched at the right on the back of the canvas.⁸ And this figure also bears some resemblance to the Bad Thief at the right in the *Crucifixion* of 1568 in the church of San Cassiano, Venice, which further corroborates dating our sheet to the 1560s.

The economy of line might raise some doubts about our study's autograph character, as might the fact that it is not unlike others that can be ascribed only to Jacopo's

school.⁹ But the decisive three-dimensionality of the contours and the liveliness of the pose help to confirm the attribution to Jacopo written at the lower right in an eighteenth-century hand. Similar writing, in more or less the same place, appears on many other sheets by Jacopo that were owned by Sir Joshua Reynolds. One of the eleven such drawings from Reynolds's collection that are now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, is a study, squared for transfer and quite carefully finished, for a Crucified Christ much like the sketch on the verso of our sheet, though in reverse.¹⁰ Other similarly annotated drawings, all of high quality, are in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam; the British Museum; the Albertina, Vienna; the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York; and the Janos Scholz collection, New York, and other private collections.¹¹ As Szabo remarked, the sheer quantity of such superior work contradicts Reynolds's rather curious statement that the Venetians' "sketches on paper are as rude as their pictures are excellent in regard to harmony of colouring."¹²

NOTES:

1. Uffizi, 12966F; P. Rossi 1975, p. 28, figs. 73, 74. The drawing bears an autograph inscription at the top: *San Todaro* (Venetian for "Theodore").
2. British Museum, 1913.3.31.189; *ibid.*, p. 42, figs. 62, 63.
3. British Museum, 1913.3.31.195; Hadeln 1922, pp. 53, 57, fig. 64; P. Rossi 1975, p. 42, fig. 61.
4. Bercken 1942, fig. 155. In Pallucchini and Rossi 1982 (p. 252, no. A101, fig. 724) the painting is ascribed to Domenico Tintoretto, although in 1975 P. Rossi had accepted it, with reservations, as Jacopo's.
5. Uffizi, 12922F; P. Rossi 1975, p. 19, figs. 71, 72. The drawing has an autograph inscription: *San marco*.
6. Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, 1206; *ibid.*, pp. 54–55, figs. 81, 82.
7. Victoria and Albert Museum, Dyce Bequest 243; *ibid.*, p. 45, figs. 83, 84.
8. For the charcoal sketch on the back of the Scuola di San Rocco *Crucifixion*, see Pittaluga 1921, fig. 2.
9. See two drawings of male figures in the Uffizi: 12949F (Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 1601; P. Rossi 1975, p. 62); and 12940F (photographs S.B.A.S. 173115, Gernsheim 10365).
10. Victoria and Albert Museum, Dyce Bequest 235; Ward-Jackson 1979–80, no. 332. For the entire group of eleven, see *ibid.*, nos. 328–38.
11. It would be interesting to reconstruct the entire group of Tintoretto drawings with the annotation G. *Tintoretto* or *Giacomo Tintoretto* in handwriting similar to that on our sheet. All these drawings obviously once belonged to the same collector and many of them bear the Reynolds collection mark. This is not the time and place for such a study, but I can call attention to the following among the sheets published by P. Rossi (1975): figs. 61, 62, 81, 83, 95–98,

103, 105, 109, 113, 114, 116, 123, 127, 134–36, 146(?), 151, 158(?), 178, 179, 182–85, 189, 194, 199. To these should be added at least four other sheets in private hands: from the Dry collection (photograph K.H.I. 156399); formerly in the Tomas Harris collection (photograph K.H.I. 102377); sale, Sotheby's, London, June 28, 1962, lot 24; and Manchester 1965, no. 384.

12. From Reynolds's *Second Discourse* (December 11, 1769), quoted in Szabo 1983, no. 43.

PROVENANCE: Joshua Reynolds, London (Lugt 2364); Ludwig Burchard.

EXHIBITED: Washington, D.C.–Fort Worth–Saint Louis 1974–75, no. 20, ill.; New York 1979, no. 37A, B, ill.

LITERATURE: P. Rossi 1975, p. 59, fig. 201; Rochester 1981–82, fig. 10; Szabo 1983, no. 43, pl. 43 (recto), fig. 54 (verso).

Circle of Tintoretto

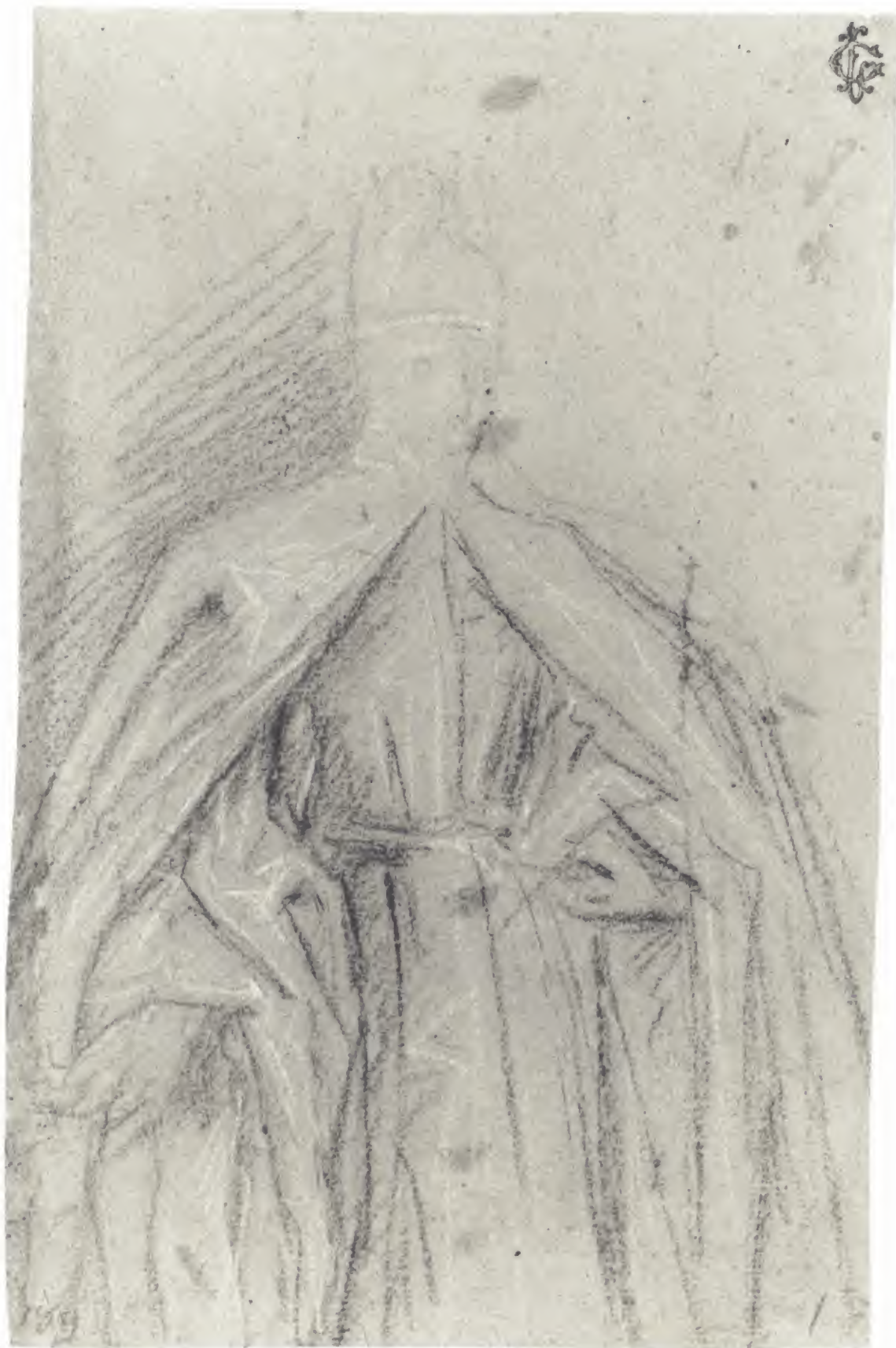
44. Study for a Portrait of a Doge

1975.I.531

Black and white chalk, on rough tan paper. 293 x 191 mm. Annotated in charcoal at the lower left in a modern hand: 189.

Although this drawing was attributed to Tintoretto in the Grassi sale catalogue of 1924, I know of no other portrait studies by him that might provide a basis for comparison. Nor are there paintings representing doges (this man's barely sketched headgear is a dogal cap) that resemble the drawing. We have no way of knowing, of course, whether the general appearance of this figure, traditional though it is, might have matched one of Tintoretto's now-lost portraits of doges, such as those of da Ponte, Pietro Loredan, and Alvise Mocenigo recorded by Ridolfi.¹

Although this quickly drawn sketch, devoid of detail, has all the characteristics of a study drawn from life in preparation for a painting, it somehow lacks the vitality and assuredness of autograph drawings by Jacopo, who knew how to capture a figure and its details with better understanding of its three-dimensional structure and salient characteristics. It is not just the rapidity of execution that has left this bust rather empty, the hand without substance, and the entire figure inadequately composed despite a certain brilliance in the overall impression. The feathered line recalls instead drawings by certain artists in Tintoretto's circle. One is reminded, for example, of



No. 44

such sketches by Palma Giovane as the *Study of a Venetian Dignitary* in the Uffizi, Florence,² or the *Seated Nude*, with a study of a young man on the verso, in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam.³ Or one might even point to some of the drawings attributed to Francesco or Leandro Bassano, including a *Male Portrait* in the Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt, although that drawing is in a different medium and more pictorial than ours.⁴ A *Portrait of a Senator* attributed to Paris Bordone in the Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York, is also of the same type as our sketch, though chromatically richer.⁵ In any event, the Lehman drawing would seem to date from about the last quarter of the sixteenth century.

Szabo too commented on this drawing's divergence from the master's style, but he nonetheless attributed it to Tintoretto, noting the similarity of the drapery to that in two of Tintoretto's studies for paintings.⁶ It seems strange that no one else has carefully examined this sketch, which should be of particular interest given the rarity of portrait drawings in Tintoretto's oeuvre.⁷

NOTES:

1. C. Ridolfi 1648, part 2, p. 60. For these three portraits, see Pallucchini and Rossi 1982, vol. 1, pp. 261, 264, 265; and for the Tintoretto portraits in general, see P. Rossi 1974. Despite the abundant documentation in those sources, I can find no figures in this same attitude.
2. Uffizi, 12939F; formerly ascribed to Tintoretto but reattributed to Palma Giovane by the Tietzes (1944, no. 917, pl. 173.2). See also Florence 1958, no. 15.
3. Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, 184; Venice–Florence 1985, no. 49.
4. Hessisches Landesmuseum, AE1428; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 212, pl. 149.1.
5. Cooper-Hewitt Museum, 1938.88.2120; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 404, pl. 84.1; Washington, D.C.—Fort Worth—Saint Louis 1974–75, no. 15.
6. Szabo 1983, no. 42, citing the *Drapery Study* in the Galleria Corsini, Rome (125523), and the *Kneeling Bishop* in the Uffizi (13017; Delogu n.d., pls. 18, 19).
7. The Tietzes may not have been acquainted with this drawing when they prepared their corpus in 1944. According to a note in the Frick Art Reference Library, New York, Tietze-Conrat seems to have remarked in January 1950 that this sheet “may be any Venetian of the second half of the sixteenth century except Tintoretto.”

PROVENANCE: Luigi Grassi, Florence (Lugt Suppl. 1171b); Frits Lugt, Paris; Grassi sale 1924, lot 136. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1924.

EXHIBITED: Northampton (Mass.) 1942–44; New York 1979, no. 36, ill.

LITERATURE: Szabo 1983, no. 42, ill.

Domenico Tintoretto

(Domenico Robusti)

Venice ca. 1560–Venice 1635

Domenico Tintoretto, Jacopo's son, worked in his father's studio and remained very much in his shadow until Jacopo's death in 1594. Only then was Domenico able to develop his own style and make himself known through what would prove to be a vast range of works for patrons in Venice and elsewhere. In his *Maraviglie dell'arte* of 1648 Ridolfi was already insisting on Domenico's originality and the distinctive, erudite style that not only enhanced his allegorical compositions but also lent his work an academic sophistication. That assessment might be said to apply less to Domenico's paintings than to his graphic work, particularly his monochrome oil sketches. More than studies in the traditional sense, Domenico's rich chiaroscuro oil sketches – for example those in the sketchbook, or album, in the British Museum that forms the nucleus of his surviving drawings – precipitated an altogether new approach to drawing in the seventeenth century. While they also unquestionably reflect his own personality, the vivid, pictorial drawings Domenico did in black and white chalk on blue paper are more reflective of his father's influence.

Domenico Tintoretto

45. Reclining Female Nude

1975.1.533

Black and white chalk on faded blue paper. 198 x 254 mm. Made up at the left with old blue paper drawn on the verso with black and white chalk. Annotated in pen and brown ink at the lower right in an eighteenth-century hand: *Tinto*¹⁰. Watermark: anchor in a circle.

This sheet and Nos. 46–52 are part of a group of studies of the foreshortened figure of a recumbent or seated nude woman (though Byam Shaw has noted the androgynous character of some of them),¹ all drawn in black and white chalk on blue paper of roughly the same size.² At the turn of the century at least thirteen sheets from this group were in the collection of Luigi Grassi in Florence. As Byam Shaw has recently confirmed, Frits Lugt acquired those thirteen in 1923. He kept one (Fig. 45.1),³ sold one to the Albertina, Vienna (Fig. 45.2),⁴ and put the remaining eleven up for sale in 1924 at Sotheby's, where they



No. 45

were bought by Robert Lehman.⁵ Robert Lehman gave one of the eleven to the Metropolitan Museum in 1941 (Fig. 45.3).⁶ The whereabouts of the two other sheets no longer in the collection, both of which are squared for transfer and show the figure stretched out in an almost frontal position (Figs. 45.4, 45.5), are not known.⁷

When the thirteen sheets from the Grassi collection appeared on the market for the first time in 1924 they were ascribed to Jacopo Tintoretto, in part on the basis of the early inscriptions several of them bear. The Tietzes decisively shifted the attribution to Domenico Tintoretto

in 1944, and their opinion has subsequently been generally accepted (though in the catalogue of the Paris exhibition of 1957 Béguin preferred a prudent "attributed to Jacopo").⁸ One need only look at Jacopo's study in the Städelches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main (Fig. 45.6),⁹ of a reclining male nude for the *Discovery of the Body of Saint Mark* in the Brera, Milan, to see that these studies by Domenico lack some of the punch and rhythmic resilience that mark Jacopo's drawings. Domenico's nudes are truer to life, however, and attest to his ability to capture the human form in realistic, abandoned poses, often



Fig. 45.1 Domenico Tintoretto, *Reclining Nude*. Fondation Custodia (Collection Frits Lugt), Institut Neerlandais, Paris

daring in their immediacy, and to suggest a setting with little more than the play of light and shadow against the blue tone of the paper.

The attribution of these sheets to Domenico is absolutely convincing in light of the investigation of his drawings that Tozzi initiated in 1937, in an article in which she argued persuasively that Domenico, not Jacopo, was the author of the ninety sketches – most of them in monochrome oil – in the album in the British Museum, London.¹⁰ The difference in technique notwithstanding, our studies have a good deal in common with the oil sketches, both stylistically and compositionally. Though they are depictions of narrative themes rather than studies per se, the oil sketches served not as *abbozzi* but as true and proper *disegni*. The Lehman drawings and sheets of the same group resemble others in the Uffizi, Florence,¹¹ and in the Louvre, Paris,¹² that were also unquestionably drawn from life. The entire group of drawings from the nude may have been put to use in paintings or bozzetti, but they were not necessarily made with that purpose in mind.

These drawings must have been done rather late in Domenico's career, after the turn of the century: some of the figures were inspired by those in Jacopo's *Pool of Bethesda* in the Scuola di San Rocco, which Domenico restored and therefore had an opportunity to study again in 1602,¹³ and others can be related to late works by Domenico himself. The pose in No. 45, which varies only minimally from that in No. 49 and is not unlike the pose of the androgynous figure in the drawing in the Lugt collection (Fig. 45.1), resembles the position of the nude stretched out in the foreground in an oil sketch in the British Museum album for the *Freeing of the Slave*,¹⁴ part of the series depicting the Miracles of Saint Mark that



Fig. 45.2 Domenico Tintoretto, *Female Nude*. Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna



Fig. 45.3 Domenico Tintoretto, *Reclining Nude*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Robert Lehman, 1941 (41.187.2)

Domenico produced after 1585. And Domenico used a similar pose, though reversed, for the figure in the foreground of the oil sketch now in the Art Museum, Princeton University, that is considered the final bozzetto for *The Virgin Supplicating Christ for Plague-Stricken Venice*, the large votive banner he painted for San Francesco della Vigna in Venice in 1631.¹⁵

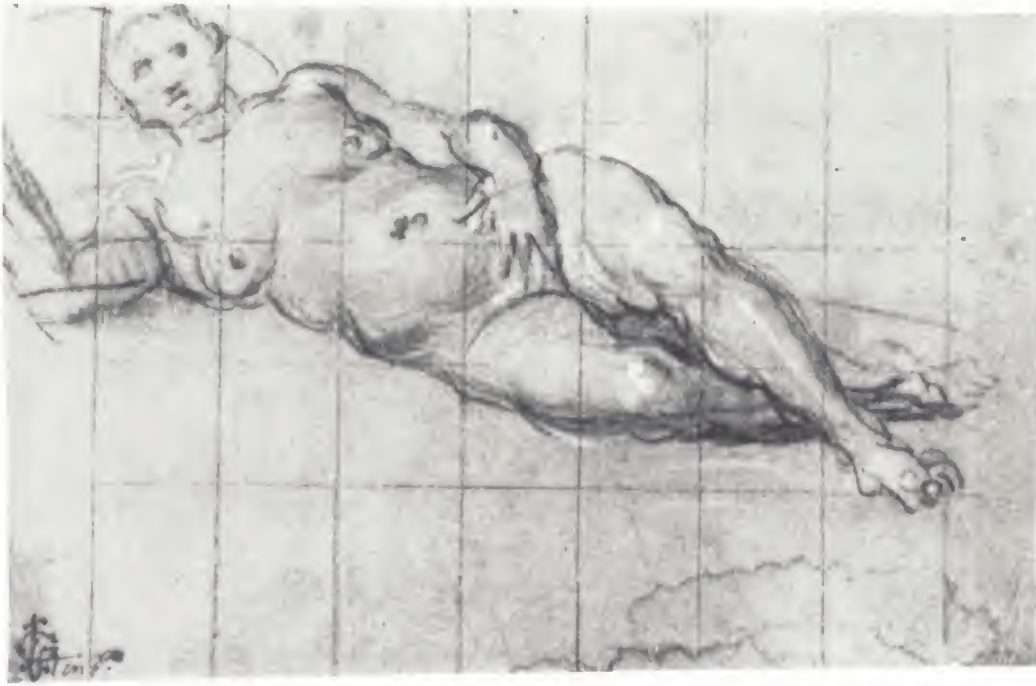


Fig. 45.4 Domenico Tintoretto, *Reclining Female Nude*. Photograph: sale catalogue, Christie, Manson and Woods, London, November 29, 1977, lot 40

NOTES:

1. Byam Shaw 1983, n. 2 under no. 242. On the subject of male models used for female figures, Byam Shaw refers to Ward-Jackson's remarks on two drawings in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Ward-Jackson 1979–80, pp. 159–60, under nos. 335–37).
2. A sheet in the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe in Rome (125525; Hadeln 1922, no. 16 [as Jacopo Tintoretto]; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 1545, pl. 116.2 [as Domenico Tintoretto]) that also clearly belongs to this group and is in

remarkably fine condition gives some idea of how these life studies must have looked before time and repeated handling dulled the brilliant black and white of the chalk and the blue of the paper. Two other drawings in the Gabinetto, both also of recumbent female nude figures drawn in black chalk or charcoal on blue paper (125043, 125524; Hadeln 1922, no. 71, p. 54 [as school of Tintoretto and pupil of Jacopo Tintoretto, respectively]; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, nos. 1543, 1544 [as Domenico Tintoretto]), have more

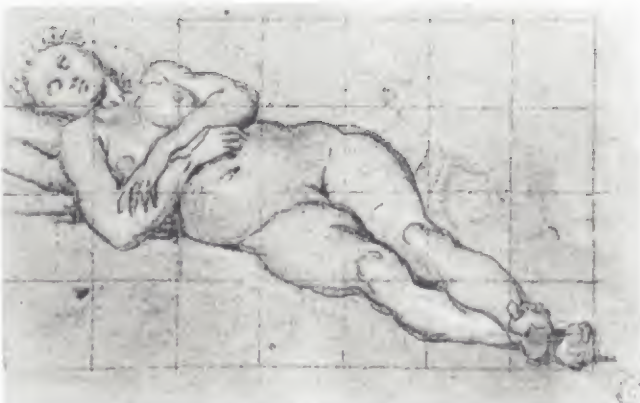


Fig. 45.5 Domenico Tintoretto, *Reclining Female Nude*. Photograph: *Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture Collected by Yale Alumni* (exhib. cat., Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, 1960), no. 156



Fig. 45.6 Jacopo Tintoretto, *Study of a Reclining Male Nude* for the *Discovery of the Body of Saint Mark*. Städelches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main

- "frayed" linework and lack the others' intensity of study of the live model, which suggests that they came instead from Jacopo's workshop. This may also be true of the drawing of a male(?) nude figure in the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Winslow Ames, Saunterstown, Rhode Island, which Pignatti (Washington, D.C.—Fort Worth—Saint Louis 1974–75, no. 21, ill.) believes is by Domenico Tintoretto but Byam Shaw (1983, under no. 242) considers closer to Titian, and which is in any case not connected with our group.
3. Fondation Custodia, Paris, 1362; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 1510; Byam Shaw 1983, no. 242.
 4. Albertina, 24035; Stix and Fröhlich-Bum 1926, no. 102 (as school of Tintoretto); Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 1553 (as Domenico Tintoretto).
 5. See Byam Shaw 1983, n. 3 under no. 242. Lot 134 of the Grassi sale included all eleven drawings. An undated and unsigned note in the Robert Lehman Collection files reports that "in looking over and estimating the collection for me in 1914 Charles Loeser valued the Tintoretto volume of Luigi Grassi drawings at £3,500. His low valuation on each of the drawings was about £300. He esteemed them very greatly. This was a high price for drawings at that time. Dr. Friedländer, in seeing them, thought they were extremely fine and would have liked to have had them, or some of them, for the Kaiser Friedrich Museum."
 6. Metropolitan Museum, 41.187.2; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 1534; Bean and Turčić 1982, no. 247, ill.
 7. Robert Lehman still owned ten of these drawings in 1957, according to the entry in the catalogue of the exhibition that year in Paris. Byam Shaw (1983, n. 3 under no. 242) reports that Szabo informed him that Mr. Lehman gave away the two drawings whose whereabouts are now unknown and that one of them was later owned by Hans Calmann and was subsequently sold at Christie's in London on November 29, 1977, lot 40. The other was in Robert Lehman's possession at least until 1960, when he lent it to Yale University (see New Haven 1960, no. 156, ill. [as Jacopo Tintoretto]). It was also shown in Cincinnati in 1959 (no. 221).
 8. Of the ten drawings Robert Lehman owned at the time, four, one described as squared for transfer, were shown in Paris. One of those four was No. 45, which is illustrated, and another had to have been one of the two squared drawings that Robert Lehman gave away (see note 7 above). Which two of the eight still in the collection were also shown cannot be determined.
 9. Städelches Kunstinstitut, 4420; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 1819, pl. 128.4 (not cited in P. Rossi 1975). See also Joachim and McCullagh 1979, no. 21, fig. 25.
 10. British Museum, 1907.7.17.1–90. See Tozzi 1937; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 1526; and, for these sketches' importance as regards Domenico's working procedures, Freeman Bauer 1978 and P. Rossi 1984. Tozzi's attribution of the sketchbook to Domenico has since been generally accepted.
 11. Uffizi, 7513S, 7514S, 1839F, 1300IF (all of recumbent nude female figures, the last two viewed from the back); Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, nos. 1506, 1507, 1489 (pl. 123.3), 1499; Florence 1956, nos. 64, 65.
 12. Louvre 7513, 7514 (both of reclining females); P. Rossi 1984, pp. 64, 71, figs. 16, 17.
 13. See Pallucchini and Rossi 1982, no. 355 (with an illustration of Jacopo's painting), and the documents published in P. Rossi 1977 (see p. 261 and appendix).
 14. British Museum, 1907.7.17.23; Tozzi 1937, fig. 1; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 1526, sketch 23.
 15. Art Museum, Princeton University, 48-1919; Tozzi 1937, p. 22, fig. 3; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 1554, pl. 120.4; Gibbons 1977, no. 686, ill.
- PROVENANCE: Luigi Grassi, Florence (Lugt Suppl. 1171b); Frits Lugt, Paris; Grassi sale 1924, lot 134. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1924.
- EXHIBITED: Oberlin 1942–44; Paris 1957, no. 129, ill.; New York 1979, no. 54, ill.
- LITERATURE: Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 1535; Rochester 1981–82, fig. 11; Bean and Turčić 1982, under no. 247; Byam Shaw 1983, under no. 242; Szabo 1983, no. 49, ill.; P. Rossi 1984, pp. 66, 71.



No. 46

Domenico Tintoretto

46. Reclining Female Nude

1975.I.534

Black and white chalk on blue paper. 199 x 286 mm.
Annotated in pen and brown ink at the lower right in an eighteenth-century hand: *Tint.*

This drawing belongs to the group discussed under No. 45. In composition it is related to Nos. 50 and 51, as well as to the drawing in the Albertina, Vienna (Fig. 45.2),¹ and to a sheet in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam.² The clear precedent for all four of these drawings was the study by Jacopo Tintoretto in the Städelches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main (Fig. 45.6), for the nude in the foreground of the *Discovery of the Body of Saint Mark* now in the Brera, Milan.³ Comparing these particular drawings by Domenico to Jacopo's study reveals that Domenico's style was less taut and more impressionistic than his father's and that he was more attentive to the not always beautiful reality of nude bodies relaxed in sleep.

NOTES:

1. Albertina; 24035; Stix and Fröhlich-Bum 1926, no. 102 (as school of Tintoretto); Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 1553 (as Domenico Tintoretto).
2. Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, 1.404; P. Rossi 1984, p. 66, fig. 21. This is a preparatory study for the painting *The Dead Christ with Two Angels* in the Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Basel (ibid., fig. 22).
3. Städelches Kunstinstitut, 4420; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 1819, pl. 128.4.

PROVENANCE: Luigi Grassi, Florence (Lugt Suppl. 1171b); Frits Lugt, Paris; Grassi sale 1924, lot 134. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1924.

EXHIBITED: Oberlin 1942–44; Paris 1957, no. 129(?); Cincinnati 1959, no. 220, ill.; New York 1979, no. 55, ill.

LITERATURE: Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 1535; Bean and Turčić 1982, under no. 247; Byam Shaw 1983, under no. 242; P. Rossi 1984, pp. 66, 71.



No. 47

Domenico Tintoretto

47. Reclining Female Nude

1975.I.539

Black and white chalk on blue paper. 196 x 291 mm. Laid down. Annotated in pen and brown ink at the lower left in an eighteenth-century hand: *Tint.*

Also part of the series discussed under No. 45, this drawing is a variation of the foreshortened pose in No. 48, but the position of the arm (as in No. 52) suggests not so much sleep as meditation. The model appears to be pregnant, and the drawing is so extremely realistic that it seems unlikely to have been preparatory to a painting.

PROVENANCE: Luigi Grassi, Florence (Lugt Suppl. 1171b); Frits Lugt, Paris; Grassi sale 1924, lot 134. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1924.

EXHIBITED: Oberlin 1942–44; Paris 1957, no. 129(?); Cincinnati 1959, no. 222; New York 1979, no. 56, ill.

LITERATURE: Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 1535; Bean and Turčić 1982, under no. 247; Byam Shaw 1983, under no. 242; P. Rossi 1984, pp. 66, 71.



No. 48

Domenico Tintoretto

48. Reclining Female Nude

1975.I.535

Black and white chalk on blue paper. 198 x 285 mm. Laid down. Annotated in pen and brown ink at the lower left in an eighteenth-century hand: *Tint* (the *T* at the left partly cut away).

For a discussion of the group of drawings to which this sheet belongs, see No. 45. Although the pose here is a variant of that in No. 47, the foreshortening is even bolder, and the almost modern realism has no parallel in the work of any of Domenico's contemporaries, in Venice at any rate. I can think of only one other artist who in the late sixteenth century, at the height of the Counter-Reformation, dared to use such realistic and unprecedented foreshortening in his studies from the nude: the Florentine Andrea Commodi.¹ Predating both Domenico Tintoretto's and Commodi's drawings, however, is one of Pontormo's most veracious studies for the frescoes in the Medici villa at Poggio a Caiano, a drawing from 1520

(now in the Uffizi, Florence) in which the artist went beyond all Mannerist "studiousness."²

NOTES:

1. For Commodi's drawings from the nude, see Berti 1956, pp. 278–82; Thiem 1977a, pp. 304–6; and Florence 1986–87, vol. 2, pp. 148–51 (in particular no. 2.95).
2. Uffizi, 6557F; Cox Rearick 1964, no. 144, fig. 137.

PROVENANCE: Luigi Grassi, Florence (Lugt Suppl. 1171b); Frits Lugt, Paris; Grassi sale 1924, lot 134. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1924.

EXHIBITED: Buffalo 1935, no. 29, ill.; Toledo 1939; Oberlin 1942–44; Paris 1957, no. 129(?); Cincinnati 1959, no. 223, ill.; New York 1979, no. 57, ill.

LITERATURE: Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 1535; Bean and Turčić 1982, under no. 247; Byam Shaw 1983, under no. 242; P. Rossi 1984, pp. 66, 71.



No. 49

Domenico Tintoretto

49. Reclining Female Nude

1975.I.537

Black and white chalk on blue paper. 190 x 270 mm. Laid down. Irregular left edge made up with old blue paper. Annotated in pen and brown ink at the lower right in an eighteenth-century hand: *Tinto* (partly cut away).

A further variation in the series discussed under No. 45, this sheet appears to have been trimmed at the left. The figure's left arm may originally have hung down in complete relaxation, as in No. 46.

PROVENANCE: Luigi Grassi, Florence (Lugt Suppl. 1171b); Frits Lugt, Paris; Grassi sale 1924, lot 134. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1924.

EXHIBITED: Oberlin 1942–44; Paris 1957, no. 129(?); New York 1979, no. 58, ill.

LITERATURE: Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 1535; Bean and Turčić 1982, under no. 247; Byam Shaw 1983, under no. 242; P. Rossi 1984, pp. 66, 71.

144

Domenico Tintoretto

50. Reclining Female Nude

1975.I.536

Black and white chalk on blue paper. 287 x 195 mm. Laid down. Water stain at right edge. Annotated in brown ink at the lower right: *T[]T* (remainder cut away).

For a discussion of the series to which this drawing belongs, see No. 45. The pose here is similar to that in No. 51, but in the way the figure is foreshortened the drawing most resembles No. 46. Again we can evoke Jacopo Tintoretto's study for the *Discovery of the Body of Saint Mark* (Fig. 45.6) of a figure that is analogous to Domenico's but less heavily outlined and not so impressionistic.¹

NOTE:

1. Städelches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main, 4420; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 1819, pl. 128.4.



No. 50

PROVENANCE: Luigi Grassi, Florence (Lugt Suppl. 1171b); Frits Lugt, Paris; Grassi sale 1924, lot 134. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1924.

EXHIBITED: Oberlin 1942–44; Paris 1957, no. 129(?); New York 1979, no. 59, ill.

LITERATURE: Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 1535; Bean and Turčić 1982, under no. 247; Byam Shaw 1983, under no. 242; P. Rossi 1984, pp. 66, 71.



No. 51

Domenico Tintoretto

51. Reclining Female Nude

1975.1.538

Black and white chalk on blue paper; slight evidence of laid lines. 283 x 188 mm.

This is another in the series of drawings discussed under No. 45. The pose is a variation of that in Nos. 46 and 50, but the foreshortening is more traditional, harking back to the basic model of Mantegna's *Dead Christ* in the Brera, Milan. This drawing is less successful than the others in the group, and the effect is less immediate, per-

haps because the drawing in the legs is more ragged and more imitative of the manner of Domenico's father.

PROVENANCE: Luigi Grassi, Florence (Lugt Suppl. 1171b); Frits Lugt, Paris; Grassi sale 1924, lot 134. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1924.

EXHIBITED: Poughkeepsie 1942-44; Paris 1957, no. 129(?); New York 1979, no. 60, ill.

LITERATURE: Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 1535; Bean and Turčić 1982, under no. 247; Byam Shaw 1983, under no. 242; P. Rossi 1984, pp. 66, 71.



No. 52

Domenico Tintoretto

52. Seated Female Nude

1975.1.540

Black and white chalk on blue paper. 187 x 277 mm. Red ink stains at right. Watermark: circle with an illegible figure.

Although part of the series discussed under No. 45, this sheet is somewhat different from the others. Not only is the drawing more summary, but the figure, seated rather than recumbent and of smaller proportions, is shifted to the right of the sheet, which might suggest that the artist intended to add other figures. A similar figure, but reversed and with the arms in different positions, appears at the left in the sketch *Muses* formerly in the Beets collection, Amsterdam.¹

The more "awake" pose relates this figure to the study of a male(?) nude (Fig. 45.3), part of the same series, that Robert Lehman gave to the Metropolitan Museum in 1941.² And the position of the legs is similar, though reversed, to that of the legs of the male nude in the drawing in the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, Rome, that

is also part of this group (though that figure is sleeping and his arms are folded).³

The conspicuous stain of red ink at the right is like those often found on Tintoretto studies for paintings and suggests that this and the other drawings in the series may have been used in the workshop as models and exempla.

NOTES:

1. Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 1472, pl. 117.1.
2. Metropolitan Museum, 41.187.2; *ibid.*, no. 1534; Bean and Turčić 1982, no. 247, ill. (as a female nude figure).
3. Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, 125525; Hadeln 1922, no. 16; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 1545, pl. 116.2.

PROVENANCE: Luigi Grassi, Florence (Lugt Suppl. 1171b); Frits Lugt, Paris; Grassi sale 1924, lot 134. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1924.

EXHIBITED: Oberlin 1942–44; Paris 1957, no. 129(?); New York 1979, no. 61, ill.

LITERATURE: Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 1535; Bean and Turčić 1982, under no. 247; Byam Shaw 1983, under no. 242; P. Rossi 1984, pp. 66, 71.

Luca Cambiaso

Moneglia 1527–Madrid 1585

As is evident from the frescoes he painted in 1547 in the Palazzo Doria Spinola all'Acquasola in Genoa, Luca Cambiaso was exposed at an early age, and despite his training by his father, Giovanni, to the Mannerist circles typified by not only Perino del Vaga but also Domenico Beccafumi and Pordenone.

From 1548 Cambiaso collaborated with Galeazzo Alessi and then with Il Bergamasco, and after 1550 he worked in the Lercari Chapel in the cathedral in Genoa and in the church of San Matteo and the Villa Pallavicino delle Peschiere, also in Genoa. His distinctive style, with its luministic Mannerism, iconographic innovations, and bold touches, did not mature until after 1560, in works like the *Madonna of the Candle* and *Christ Before Caiaphas*, both in the Palazzo Bianco, Genoa, and his many depictions of the Holy Family. In 1583, in response to Philip II's invitation to decorate the Palacio Real at the Escorial, Cambiaso moved to Madrid. He died there two years later.

Cambiaso is well known for his vigorous, schematic pen drawings, often with loosely applied wash. His graphic oeuvre is indeed abundant, but a number of the many drawings still attributed to him are in fact products of the workshop or of later imitators.

Luca Cambiaso(?)

53. Fame

1975.I.283

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over traces of black chalk.
332 x 243 mm.

Of the seven sheets in the Robert Lehman Collection that have been attributed to Cambiaso (Nos. 53–59) this is certainly the most immediate and the most likely to be autograph, even though it is not the only existing version of this figure. The vivid depiction of Fame astride the globe, blowing her trumpet, and the particular skill with which the interrupted yet effortless line defines the forms speak in favor of Cambiaso himself. Nonetheless, though this drawing was on the art market for many years and Szabo included it in the exhibition in New York in 1979, it has escaped the attention of scholars.

Szabo compared this figure with another *Fame* that in the 1960s was in the collection of Mr. and Mrs. John Canaday.¹ That drawing has no wash and it depicts Fame looking downward in a different, almost standing pose, without the globe and the putti. When Manning discussed the Canaday drawing in the catalogue of the New York exhibition in 1967–68 he noted two drawings connected with the figure of Fame in Cambiaso's *Return of the Victorious Armada to the Port of Messina* (Fig. 53.1), from



Fig. 53.1 Luca Cambiaso, *The Return of the Victorious Armada to the Port of Messina*. Palacio Real, the Escorial. Photograph: Oronoz, S. A., Madrid



No. 53

the series of six large canvases illustrating the Battle of Lepanto he painted for the Palacio Real in the Escorial. One of those drawings is in the Uffizi, Florence; the other is in the Prado, Madrid (Fig. 53.2). The Prado drawing, of which there is a copy in the Art Museum, Princeton University, is very similar to ours.²

Further variations on the theme can be found in another drawing in the Uffizi (perhaps a pupil's copy of an unknown original by Cambiaso)³ and two in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin;⁴ yet another was recently on the art market.⁵ Fame also appears in poses not too different from that in our drawing in paintings by artists of the Cambiaso circle: the frescoes by Bernardo Castello in the Palazzo Scassi, Sampierdarena, and those Giulio Benso painted well into the seventeenth century in the Palazzo Doria, Genoa.⁶ It is possible that Castello and Benso had in mind a composition by Cambiaso that our drawing also refers to and that was probably produced at the midpoint of his career, at the height of his activity as a fresco painter and prior to his journey to Spain in 1583. The rather succinct style of our study does suggest that it was meant for a fresco. Despite the different subject, it brings to mind other studies by Cambiaso that were unquestionably preparatory to frescoes, notably the *Three Virtues* in the Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, dat-

able about 1570,⁷ and a drawing in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan,⁸ for the fresco *The Reconciliation of the Sabines and Romans* in the Villa Imperiale, Genoa, from 1565. Also to be taken into account are the angel in the *Annunciation* at Chatsworth, which may be for the painting of 1565 in the church of Santissima Annunziata di Portoria in Genoa;⁹ the *Rape of Proserpine* in the Suida Manning collection, New York, which may have been done for the Palazzo Lercari in the 1560s;¹⁰ and, especially, the *Venus (or Fortune?) on a Dolphin* in the Städelches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main.¹¹

NOTES:

1. New York 1967–68, no. 71.
2. See Suida Manning and Suida 1958, pp. 129–30, and Manning in New York 1967–68, under no. 71: Uffizi, 13655F; Prado, 545 (Mariette Album, no. 63); Art Museum, Princeton University, 48.611 (Gibbons 1977, no. 115, ill.), a copy after Prado 545. Manning also listed Prado 546 as a variant.
3. Uffizi, 6969s.
4. Kupferstichkabinett, KK20638, KK7713; photographs Gernsheim 46530, 34007.
5. Milan 1985, no. 1 (as Luca Cambiaso; called *Fortune*).
6. There is a drawing for the Palazzo Doria frescoes in a private collection in London; see Newcome 1979, p. 32, fig. 30 (as Giulio Benso).
7. Suida Manning and Suida 1958, p. 193, fig. 436.
8. Biblioteca Ambrosiana, cod. F262 inf. 47; Bora 1980, no. 97.
9. Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth Settlement; Suida Manning and Suida 1958, p. 180, figs. 233, 234 (the painting).
10. Torriti 1966, pl. 11.
11. Frankfurt am Main 1980, no. 31.

PROVENANCE: Sunderland(?); William Bates, Birmingham, England.

EXHIBITED: Poughkeepsie 1942–44; New York 1979, no. 45, ill.

Luca Cambiaso(?)

54. Saint Matthew and the Angel

1975.I.287

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over traces of brown chalk(?); squared in red chalk. 240 x 162 mm. Annotated in pen and brown ink at the lower left in a seventeenth- or eighteenth-century hand: *Candiagio f.*

Although its distinctive look sets it apart from the plethora of often far less vigorous drawings associated with Cambiaso or his circle, this sheet has received no further attention since it was first shown in New York in 1979.



Fig. 53.2 Luca Cambiaso(?), *Fame*. Museo del Prado, Madrid



No. 54

Its essential stylization also distinguishes it from Cambiaso's better-known drawings, both the "cubist" type and those that are more narrative and naturalistic. The decisive close-up presentation of the massive figure of the saint and his angelic interlocutor, in a relationship more spatial than emotional; the broad strokes of the reed pen on contours that are spiky rather than geometric; and the emphatic splashes of wash are paralleled only in drawings from Cambiaso's last years.

Our sheet can be related to Cambiaso's *Pietà* and *Saint Matthew and the Angel in an Interior* in the Uffizi, Florence,¹ as well as to *The Way to Calvary* in the Art Museum, Princeton University, in which the mouths and eyes and the angel's button nose are treated in a similarly "economical" manner.² A study in the Suida Manning collection, New York, of a Sibyl in a spandrel, is also relevant.³ That all these drawings date to quite late in Cambiaso's career would seem to lend credence to Szabo's hypothesis that our drawing is a study, perhaps for a fresco, from about 1583–85, the years Cambiaso spent in Spain just before he died.⁴

The squaring in red chalk is unusual for a pen drawing,⁵ and no painting corresponding to this composition has as yet been identified. The absence of any effect of *di sotto in sù*, the saint's downward gaze, and the indication at the right of more clouds, probably meant to hold other figures, suggest that this may be a study for a painting depicting saints in glory rather than for a ceiling fresco. The almost slapdash ease of execution all but falls short when it comes to defining such details as hands or the angel's wings, but such facility does not preclude the drawing's being a workshop product. See also No. 59.

NOTES:

1. Uffizi, 13752F (Torriti 1966, pl. 36), 6936s.
2. Art Museum, Princeton University, 48-622; Gibbons 1977, no. 84.
3. Suida Manning and Suida 1958, fig. 245; Houston 1974, no. 50. The *Saint Matthew and the Angel* in the Graphische Sammlung, Munich (Ragghianti Collobi 1954b, fig. 154), is a livelier interpretation of the theme in a different composition; it is probably of earlier date than our drawing.
4. Szabo in New York 1979, no. 43.
5. Note as well the seventeenth- or eighteenth-century annotation in handwriting different from that on Nos. 55 and 58. The erroneous transcription of the name indicates that it was probably not written by an Italian.

PROVENANCE: Not established.

EXHIBITED: Poughkeepsie 1942–44; New York 1979, no. 43, ill.

Workshop of Cambiaso

55. *Madonna and Child with the Young Saint John the Baptist and a Donor*

1975.I.285

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over graphite underdrawing. 226 x 191 mm. Annotated in pen and ink at the lower left in the same seventeenth- or eighteenth-century hand as found on No. 58: *Cangiasio*. The verso is smudged with black and red chalk.

At least four other versions of this composition are known, all pen and ink drawings about the same size as this sheet: in the Uffizi, Florence (Fig. 55.1);¹ the Palazzo Bianco, Genoa;² the Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf;³ and the Nasjonalgalleriet, Oslo.⁴ The drawings are iconographically nearly identical but very different in quality. One of the finest is the sheet in the Uffizi, which is annotated *Luca Cangiasio* in handwriting like that on our sheet. Ragghianti Collobi has connected the Uffizi sheet with Cambiaso's painting *The Holy Family with a Saint, an Angel, and a Donor* in the Accademia Ligustica, Genoa, which Suida Manning and Suida called a late work of about 1575.⁵ The painting's composition, however, is not only very different from the drawing's but reversed.



Fig. 55.1 Luca Cambiaso(?), *Madonna and Child with the Young Saint John the Baptist and a Donor*. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence. Photograph: Foto Ottica Europa, Florence



No. 55

The Palazzo Bianco drawing, which is squared for transfer, is of even higher quality. It has been related both to the Uffizi drawing and to the painting *The Holy Family with the Young Saint John the Baptist* in the collection of the Marchese Marcello Gropallo in Genoa.⁶ In this case, the drawings do echo the painting's pyramidal composition, but in the painting Saint Joseph stands behind the Virgin's left shoulder, the baby stands rather than sits on his mother's broad lap, and the young Saint John kneels at the Virgin's left, in the position occupied by the donor in the drawings. Any direct relationship between the drawings and the painting therefore seems improbable, though nothing in the style of either the Uffizi drawing or the one in the Palazzo Bianco, both of which are in keeping with Cambiaso's work of the 1560s, would preclude such a relationship. Similar comparisons could be made with others of Cambiaso's paintings from about the same time. In the *Madonna and Child* in a private collection in Genoa the Virgin's pose is similar to that in the drawings and the Child also holds a globe (or an apple?).⁷ The Child's gesture and his relation to the Virgin are even closer to the drawings' composition in the altarpiece *The Madonna and Child with Saints Anne, Nicholas of Bari, and Nicholas of Tolentino* (San Lorenzo, Genoa) and *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt* from about 1565 (Accademia Ligustica, Genoa),⁸ which, however, has a more complex composition and a Correggionesque flavor.

Whereas the drawings in the Uffizi and the Palazzo Bianco can probably be attributed to Cambiaso's own hand, the other two variants are school derivations. The sheet in Düsseldorf is squared like the Palazzo Bianco drawing but the workmanship is somewhat mediocre. The slack linework and hesitant definition of the forms in the drawing in Oslo bring it closer to ours, which should be considered the work of a contemporary copyist, perhaps a pupil in Cambiaso's own workshop. That the back is smudged with chalk might suggest that this sheet was prepared for transfer, perhaps for engraving.

The presence of the donor in all five drawings and the squaring on two of them lead one to surmise that the prototype may have been an idea for a painting Cambiaso conceived for a commission for a precise purpose.⁹

NOTES:

1. Uffizi, 13685F; Ragghianti Collobi 1954b, p. 244, fig. 169.
2. Palazzo Bianco, 1847; Genoa 1956, no. 94.
3. Kunstmuseum, 33-115; photograph Gernsheim 79222.
4. Nasjonalgalleriet, B15157; photograph Gernsheim 78172.
5. Accademia Ligustica, 56; Suida Manning and Suida 1958, p. 64, fig. 368; see also Ragghianti Collobi 1954b, p. 244.

6. Genoa 1956, no. 29; Suida Manning and Suida 1958, p. 101, fig. 251.
7. Genoa 1956, no. 18; Suida Manning and Suida 1958, fig. 95. According to Suida Manning and Suida, the painting was then owned by Angelo Costa, Genoa.
8. Accademia Ligustica, 55; Suida Manning and Suida 1958, p. 63, fig. 262; Baccheschi et al. 1983, no. 16; Moneglia 1985, no. 5.
9. The only known painting by Cambiaso with a donor is the one in the Accademia Ligustica (see note 5 above), which, as I have said, has a different composition. Furthermore, the donor in the painting, whom Giuliano Frabetti has hypothetically identified as a member of the Interiano family (see Baccheschi et al. 1983, no. 17), appears older than the man in our drawing.

PROVENANCE: Giuseppe Vallardi, Milan (Lugt 1223); [E. Parsons and Sons, London]. Acquired by Robert Lehman from Parsons and Sons on September 11, 1929.

EXHIBITED: Northampton (Mass.) 1942-44; New York 1979, no. 41, ill.

School of Cambiaso

56. Hercules and the Erymanthian Boar

1975.I.284

Pen and brown ink, over black chalk underdrawing. 338 x 242 mm. Annotated in pen and brown ink at the lower left in a seventeenth- or eighteenth-century hand: *L. Cangiagi*. Annotated in pen and brown ink on the verso in an eighteenth-century hand: *No. 18 Carraci*. Watermark: pomegranate.

Several of Cambiaso's drawings, and many by his pupils and imitators, illustrate the Labors of Hercules and other Herculean themes. The subject must have appealed to Cambiaso even as a young man, for in 1674 Soprani recorded that among his earliest paintings were "the labors of Hercules, which he did in the Palace of Signor Sinibaldo Doria near the Church of San Matteo."¹ Unfortunately the frescoes in the Palazzo Doria have not survived, and none of the drawings by Cambiaso or his followers can be related to them with any certainty.

Our drawing is rather schematic, and the linework is hard and unpersuasive, in the contours of the figure itself as well as in the hatching in the background. The ambiguous shape at the left could as easily be a rise in the ground as a slain lion. The uncertainty suggests that, rather than an original drawing conceived by a mediocre pupil, this may be a copy by someone else after an original by the young Cambiaso himself, possibly a study for the Palazzo Doria frescoes. The curly lines on the head and torso and the insistent emphasis on the curves of the figure recall other works of Cambiaso's youth, and



No. 56

Hercules' gesture is rather like that in the *Christ Triumphant* in the Louvre, Paris,² which is in his earliest style and has been connected with the frescoes of the Last Judgment he painted in Santa Maria delle Grazie in Chiavari about 1550, perhaps in collaboration with his father, Giovanni.

None of Cambiaso's drawings seem to represent the killing of the Erymanthian boar. But quite a number of representations of other Herculean themes might have been related to the original study the Lehman drawing replicates: *Hercules Standing* from the Codex Bonola (Muzeum Narodowe, Warsaw);³ *Hercules* (formerly Wessner collection, Saint Gall, Switzerland), a study for the fresco *The Fight of Hercules and the Amazons* in the Palazzo della Prefettura in Genoa;⁴ *Hercules and the Lernaean Hydra* (private collection, Genoa), perhaps connected with the Palazzo Doria frescoes;⁵ *Hercules Slaying the Centaur* (Bertini collection, Prato); and three drawings of Hercules and the Cretan Bull, two in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin,⁶ and one in the National Gallery, Edinburgh,⁷ that may also have been connected with the fresco cycle in the Palazzo Doria.

Comparing our drawing with those at once more three-dimensional and more vigorous examples confirms that it is by another hand, still directly associated with Cambiaso's circle but weaker – a hand rather more like the one that executed the *Hercules and the Nemean Lion* and the *Hercules and the Centaurs* in the Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart,⁸ and the *Hercules and Cacus* in the Uffizi.⁹

NOTES:

1. Soprani 1674, p. 36: "le forze d'Hercole, ch'egli fece al Palazzo del Signor Sinibaldo Doria presso la Chiesa di S. Matteo." For the frescoes, see Suida Manning and Suida 1958, p. 81.
2. Louvre, 9251; Paris 1985, no. 13. For the Chiavari frescoes, see Moneglia 1985, no. 3.
3. Muzeum Narodowe, Codex Bonola, p. 49 (87); Venice 1959a, no. 76.
4. Suida Manning and Suida 1958, p. 193, fig. 10. For the fresco and a detail of it with the corresponding figure of Hercules, see *ibid.*, figs. 2, 5.
5. Torriti 1966, pl. 2.
6. Kupferstichkabinett, KK16013, KK20655; photographs Gernsheim 46470, 46504.
7. National Gallery, RSA166; Andrews 1968, fig. 210.
8. Staatsgalerie, 6194, 6225; Thiem 1977b, nos. 29, 30. Thiem believes these drawings were derived from woodcuts.
9. Uffizi, 13803F.

PROVENANCE: [E. Parsons and Sons, London]. Acquired by Robert Lehman from Parsons and Sons on September 11, 1929.

EXHIBITED: Oberlin 1942–44; New York 1979, no. 39, ill.

School of Cambiaso

57. Venus Blindfolding Cupid

1975.I.289

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, on tan paper. 306 x 213 mm. Annotated in pencil on the verso in a modern hand: *L. Cangiagi*.

Venus, usually with the young Cupid, was one of Cambiaso's favorite subjects from mythology. But to my knowledge he depicted the goddess in the act of blindfolding her son in only a few drawings and in one painting, now in a private collection in Vienna, in which Venus sits with her back to the viewer.¹

Three drawings with this subject by or after Cambiaso also have compositions different from this one: a sheet in the Louvre, Paris, showing Cupid from behind² and two workshop products, one in the Accademia Carrara, Bergamo,³ the other in an unknown private collection.⁴ This same composition appears only in a copy in the Uffizi, Florence, one of a series of mediocre drawings on mythological themes from the Cambiaso school.⁵ The Uffizi copy is a simple pen drawing with no wash, and it is by a much less capable hand than our drawing. Nonetheless, our sheet appears to be not an original but a copy after the same prototype, most likely a drawing rather than a painting. While this drawing does have a certain freshness, such lapses as the uncertain relation of the two figures to each other and to the landscape around them, the not very firm treatment of Cupid's right arm and left leg, and the rather bungled rendering of Venus's hair reveal an insecurity that would be typical of someone copying details but failing to comprehend the original as a whole.

Szabo alone has published this drawing. He ascribed it to Cambiaso himself and compared it not only with the painting in Vienna but also with one in the Art Institute of Chicago that represents Venus propped against a cushion with the infant Cupid on her lap.⁶ The composition of *Venus Disarming Cupid*, a Cambiaso painting in a Genoese private collection, is somewhat closer to this drawing's.⁷

NOTES:

1. Suida Manning and Suida 1958, fig. 115.
2. *Ibid.*, fig. 77.
3. Accademia Carrara, 1540; Ragghianti 1963, no. 421 (as Cambiaso).
4. Photograph K.H.I. 353048.
5. Uffizi, 13808F. Ragghianti Collobi (1954b, p. 262, n. 11) has attributed one of the drawings in this series, *Venus and Adonis* (Uffizi, 13805F), to Cambiaso himself.





No. 58

6. Szabo in New York 1979, no. 40. For the painting in Chicago, see Suida Manning and Suida 1958, fig. 338.
 7. Suida Manning and Suida 1958, fig. 337.

PROVENANCE: Not established.

EXHIBITED: Poughkeepsie 1942–44; New York 1979, no. 40, ill.

LITERATURE: Szabo 1983, fig. 56.

School of Cambiaso

58. The Holy Family with the Young Saint John the Baptist

1975.I.286

Pen and brown ink, grayish brown wash. 256 x 214 mm. Laid down. Annotated in pen and brown ink at the lower left in a seventeenth- or eighteenth-century hand: *Cangiaso*. Annotated in pen on the verso of the backing in a nineteenth-century hand: 2598.

The biographer Soprani reported in 1674 that Cambiaso's friend Paolo Foglietti "had in a book of selected drawings a hundred Madonnas by Cambiaso outlined in pen and shaded with wash by which he set great store, preserving them diligently as gems of great value, and in truth it was astounding to see such a variety of thoughts and caprices expressed in a single subject."¹ A large number of drawings in the Cambiaso manner are in fact devoted to the theme of the Madonna and Child, depicted in action or repose, in interiors, landscapes, or no setting at all, with or without the young Saint John the Baptist and with or without Saint Joseph. More than a few of these drawings, many of which are in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, and the Uffizi, Florence, are probably from Cambiaso's own hand, but the majority are copies or variants by either pupils in his workshop or roughly contemporary imitators who worked from the prototypes by Cambiaso that were widely distributed at an early date. The many replicas in different hands and of varying quality, often with the same composition (see also No. 55), testify to the early fame of Cambiaso's drawings and to the relative ease with which they could be imitated.

This particular scene seems to have been replicated only in an unsigned woodcut (Fig. 58.1) with a composition that, albeit in reverse, is very similar to our drawing's, except for the large tree behind the Madonna and the somewhat less sketchily drawn landscape.² The woodcut may derive from another, better copy, or it may even

be after Cambiaso's original. The attribution to Cambiaso written at the bottom (in the same handwriting found on No. 55, also from the Vallardi collection) notwithstanding, our sheet is quite certainly by a pupil or imitator of mediocre talent.³ Not even late in his career would Cambiaso have produced such slipshod work as the hasty and unfirm contours of the boys' bodies and the folds of the garments; nor would he have applied wash in a way that instead of modeling the figures actually flattens them. Moreover, from certain incongruous details it is clear that the copyist did not understand the functions of the lines in the original. The Madonna's left hand, for example, which should be supporting the Child, is no more than a series of disembodied lines that at first glance appear to be strange folds of flesh on the infant's body.

Only one other woodcut from a Cambiaso drawing has a related theme, the better-known *Holy Family with Saint Catherine* that is rather similar to our drawing in the general diagonal plan of the composition and the



Fig. 58.1 After Luca Cambiaso. *The Holy Family with the Young Saint John the Baptist*

summary treatment of the images.⁴ A number of drawings, all secondhand, are connected with that woodcut.⁵ They offer further proof of how frequently Cambiaso's compositions were copied, both in drawings and, even more often, in woodcuts produced chiefly by the Monogrammist G. G. N., who may have been Cambiaso's approximate contemporary. The slack linework and empty wash treatment make one suspect that our drawing is from a later period.

None of Cambiaso's paintings seem to be based on a similar plan, a perfect diagonal that cuts across the space and obviates the need for further figures to balance the composition. The *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* in the Accademia Ligustica, Genoa,⁶ and the *Holy Family* in the Prado, Madrid,⁷ come to mind, but they are both related in only the most general way. Cambiaso did use a somewhat analogous formula, however, in four of his drawings of the Holy Family.⁸

NOTES:

1. Soprani 1674, p. 51: "haveva in un libro di scielti disegni [*sic*] cento Madonine del Cambiaso contornate di penna e ombreggiate d'acquarella, delle quali si pregiava molto, conservandole con diligenza come gioie di gran valore, e invero era uno stupore il vedere tanta varietà di pensieri, e capricci espressi sopra un'istesso soggetto."
2. The woodcut seems not to have been cited elsewhere (see Moneglia 1985, p. 68).
3. Szabo (New York 1979, no. 42) attributed this drawing to Cambiaso himself and dated it to about 1570–80.
4. Heusinger 1967, fig. 3. There is a good impression of the woodcut in the Lugt collection, Fondation Custodia, Paris (2944; Byam Shaw 1983, fig. 111 under no. 411).
5. Louvre, Paris, 9236 (Suida Manning and Suida 1958, p. 170, no. 2); Lugt collection, Fondation Custodia, Paris, 979 (Byam Shaw 1983, no. 411, pl. 465); Kestner-Museum, Hannover, 74 (photograph Gernsheim 40481); Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, 7713 (photograph Gernsheim 34PP7); and Uffizi, Florence, 7014S, 7024S (Suida Manning and Suida 1958, p. 170, no. 2, fig. 365; called a woodcut, but no such print is documented in the Uffizi). Byam Shaw suspects that the drawing in the Lugt collection, which is in the same direction as the woodcut, is an early copy from the print. He refers to another drawing with a similar but reversed composition (Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin, 71.69; Stechow 1976, no. 43, fig. 108) that he says is probably by Cambiaso himself. There is another derivation in the Molinari Pradelli collection, Bologna.
6. Accademia Ligustica, 55; Suida Manning and Suida 1958, p. 63, fig. 262; Baccheschi et al. 1983, no. 16.
7. Suida Manning and Suida 1958, fig. 264.
8. Nasjonalgalleriet, Oslo, B.15158 (photograph Gernsheim 78354); British Museum, London, 1895.9.15.797 (photograph Gernsheim 11810); Graphische Sammlung, Munich, 2722 (Halm, Degenhart, and Wegner 1958, no. 47); private

collection, Cologne (photograph Bildarchiv Köln 565554). A drawing in the Printroom in Copenhagen (KK Mag. III C/7; photograph Gernsheim 73118) seems to be a school copy of the Munich drawing, and there is a replica of the Cologne sheet in the Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart (6205; Thiem 1977b, no. 19, ill.).

PROVENANCE: Giuseppe Vallardi, Milan (Lugt 1223); [E. Parsons and Sons, London]. Acquired by Robert Lehman from Parsons and Sons on September 11, 1929.

EXHIBITED: Northampton (Mass.) 1942–44; New York 1979, no. 42, ill.

School of Cambiaso

59. The Four Evangelists

1975.I.288

Pen and brown ink, brown wash over traces of black chalk.
434 x 287 mm. Watermark: G and S beneath a crown.

A number of Cambiaso's studies of the individual Evangelists in various poses have survived, but none of his drawings depict them conversing, as they are here, as if they were Doctors of the Church. That this same composition is repeated in three other drawings of varying

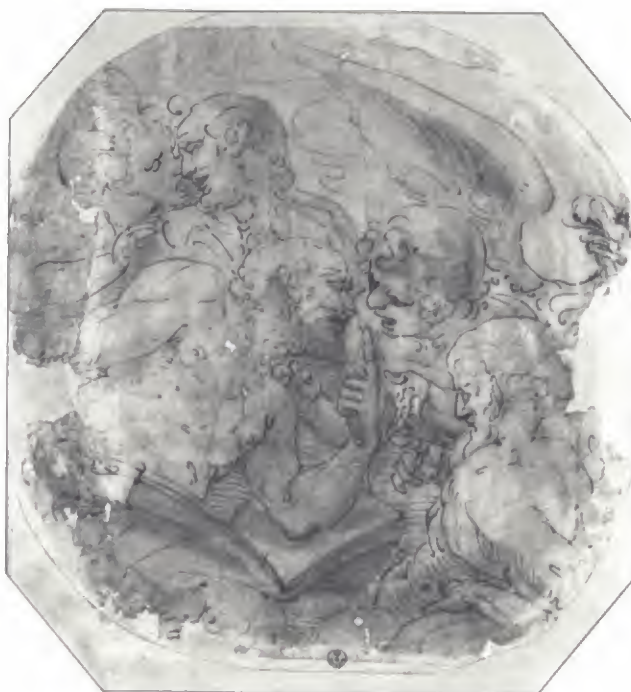


Fig. 59.1 School of Luca Cambiaso, *The Evangelists*. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence. Photograph: Foto Ottica Europa, Florence



quality by artists of the Cambiaso milieu, however, is evidence that a prototype by the master once existed. Two of these drawings, one in the Graphische Sammlung, Munich,¹ the other in the Pinacoteca Malaspina, Pavia,² have been published as Cambiaso's, though the linework is quite unlike his. Only the upper part of the composition remains of the third, from the collection of the nineteenth-century Genoese sculptor Santo Varni and now in the Uffizi, Florence (Fig. 59.1).³ The disastrous condition of the Uffizi sheet makes judging it problematic, and though Ragghianti Collobi has attributed it to Semino, her reconstruction of Semino's graphic oeuvre is still open to question. Its originally larger size (the oval it has been cut down to is 390 mm wide) lends further support to the idea that there was once a Cambiaso composition like this, most likely a painting rather than a drawing.

Szabo considered the Lehman sheet an original drawing by Cambiaso perhaps from about 1583–85, the years he spent in Spain toward the end of his life. The quality of our sheet, however, does not seem to warrant attributing it to Cambiaso himself. The stony-looking clouds; the clumsy crouch of Saint Mark's lion; the rough, schematic scrawls on Saint Luke's shoulders; and the difficulty in distinguishing between clouds, human limbs, and animals in the lower part of the composition all suggest that this is a copy by a follower who did not fully grasp the components of Cambiaso's original.

The *sotto in sù* disposition on a diagonal, the broad splashes of wash, and the echoes of Venice would seem to place the prototype at a midpoint in Cambiaso's career. But the copyist's not very felicitous hand masks whatever stylistic peculiarities the probable original may have displayed and makes it difficult to arrive at a satisfactory dating. Nor are we helped by Cambiaso's few drawings of individual Evangelists. The *Saint Mark* in the Uffizi;⁴ the *Evangelist(?) Writing on an Angel's Back* and the

Saint Luke in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London⁵ (versions of the *Saint Luke* also exist in Milan and Copenhagen);⁶ and the *Saint Matthews* in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, and the Printroom, Copenhagen,⁷ all have nothing in common, compositionally, with our *Four Evangelists*. The compressed arrangement and slight *di sotto in sù* suggest that our drawing may have been a study for a ceiling compartment.

NOTES:

1. Graphische Sammlung, 21053; Ragghianti Collobi 1959, p. 179, fig. 120 (as Cambiaso).
2. Pinacoteca Malaspina, Civici Musei, 105 (verso; with *Two Allegorical Figures* on the recto). The *Evangelists* on the verso was discovered when the sheet was included in an exhibition of restored works; Peroni (1966, p. 103, no. 2b) attributed it to Cambiaso despite the fact that the recto had been referred to Semino by Ragghianti Collobi (1954a, pp. 136–37). This drawing is slightly different from the other three, but the larger spaces between the figures and the slight variations in the hand of Saint Luke and the eagle of Saint John could well be the result of the viewpoint's being shifted slightly when the painting was copied from below.
3. Uffizi, 95273; Fusconi 1980, p. 74, n. 7; Ragghianti Collobi 1954a, p. 142, n. 11; Ragghianti Collobi 1959, p. 179; Peroni 1966, p. 103.
4. Uffizi, 852E; Petrioli Tofani 1986–87, p. 364.
5. Victoria and Albert Museum, 8641A, 1006–1800; Ward-Jackson 1979–80, nos. 90, 91.
6. Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan, F262/NF48; photograph Gernsheim 97977; and Printroom, Copenhagen, Mag. III C/15; photograph Gernsheim 13125.
7. Kupferstichkabinett, KK20672; photograph Gernsheim 46508; and Printroom, Copenhagen, Mag. III C/12; photograph Gernsheim 13124.

PROVENANCE: Not established.

EXHIBITED: Oberlin 1942–44; New York 1979, no. 44, ill.

LITERATURE: Szabo 1983, no. 45, ill.

CENTRAL AND
SOUTHERN ITALY
Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

Siena

Early fifteenth century

60. A Young Man in Armor, Facing Right

1975.I.404

Pen and brown ink, brown wash. At the right, traces of a sketch in black chalk, probably by a later hand. 174 x 125 mm. Laid down on Japan paper. Annotated on the verso in a sixteenth-century hand: *Vittore Pisanello* (obscured by the backing).¹

This drawing and its companion, No. 61, have a similarly brief and inadequate critical history. Only Degenhart and Schmitt have analyzed the two sheets in depth. Both drawings bear old annotations attributing them to Pisanello, and they were exhibited as by Pisanello in Cincinnati and Buffalo, respectively. In 1966, however, Fossi Todorow quite rightly removed them from that artist's catalogue, ascribing them instead to an anonymous fifteenth-century northern Italian.

Degenhart and Schmitt, in 1968, were the first to draw attention to the physical continuity between these two sheets. The head of the spear held by the warrior in No. 61 appears on the lower right of No. 60, and the sheets fit together perfectly (see Fig. 60.1). As Szabo has sug-

gested, the sheet may have been part of a sketchbook.² A related drawing in the Riccardo Lampugnani collection, Milan (Fig. 60.2), that is close to the same width as No. 61 but some seven millimeters higher may have been part of the same sketchbook.³ The Lehman drawings may have been cut down slightly at the top or bottom, or both, after the page that contained them was removed from the sketchbook.

Degenhart and Schmitt attributed the two Lehman drawings and the one in Milan to an anonymous Sienese artist of the late fourteenth century. As they said, all three incorporate graphic formulas that would become typical of such artists of that school as Jacopo della Quercia, Giovanni di Bindino, and Sassetta, as well as more ar-



Fig. 60.1 Nos. 60 and 61: Reconstruction of original sheet

chaic formal characteristics that are reminiscent of Simone Martini or the Master of the Saint George Codex but were acquired through the intermediacy of artists like Lippo Vanni, Andrea Vanni, and Paolo di Giovanni Fei, artists who served as an uninterrupted link between the Sienese tradition of the mid-1300s and the stylistic approach that prevailed by the turn of the century. In 1968 Degenhart and Schmitt also compared the delicate linework in our drawings with that in the *Madonna and Child with Saints* and *Annunciation* in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, a verre églomisé panel with a gilt ground that they attributed to a Sienese artist of the late fourteenth century.⁴

Degenhart and Schmitt hypothesized that these three figures of warriors were part of a much more extensive “famous men” cycle, or a chronicle of the world following Augustine’s six ages. Such cycles, modeled after celebrated series like the (now-lost) *Chronicle of the World*, the fresco cycle that Masolino and later Paolo Uccello painted in Giordano Orsini’s house in Rome in the 1430s, were widely diffused in miniatures as well as drawings.⁵ The full import of this comparison was not recognized until 1978, when Bellosi proposed that the drawings might be later than Degenhart and Schmitt had suggested, by an artist not far from Masolino or the author of the drawing *The Evangelists Luke and John* in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (Fig. 60.3).⁶ “The two subtle and refined drawings in the Robert Lehman collection,” Bellosi said, “seem to belong to a pictorial ambience like that shared not only by Lorenzo Monaco and Ghiberti but also by the young Masolino, Arcangelo di Cola da Camerino and perhaps the young Angelico (rather than to Siena at the end of the Trecento). . . . Too worldly for Lorenzo Monaco, too gracile for Ghiberti, they are nonetheless quite comparable to the figures on the North Door [of the Florence Baptistry] and the Ghibertian crucifixes of Impruneta, Montemagno and the Museo Capitolare in Pistoia.”⁷

To my mind both Degenhart and Schmitt and Bellosi made valid points, and a solution based on both positions might bring us closer to the truth. The comparison with the verre églomisé in the Fitzwilliam Museum might not seem particularly convincing, but our drawings’ connection with the sheet in the Pierpont Morgan Library does seem plausible, although Degenhart and Schmitt’s tentative attribution of it to the Sienese world strikes me as more tenable than Bellosi’s suggestion of Masolino and Florence. Conversely, if the end of the fourteenth century seems too early for our drawings and the first decades of the fifteenth, as proposed by Bellosi, seem



Fig. 60.2 Siena, early sixteenth century, *Standing Warrior*. Riccardo Lampugnani collection, Milan. Photograph: Bernhard Degenhart and Annegrit Schmitt, *Corpus der italienischen Zeichnungen: 1300–1450*, part 2, vol. 3 (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1980), pl. 188b

more likely, then a connection with the Sienese environment does appear more probable than any reference to Florence, for the stylistic reasons Degenhart and Schmitt outlined. Dating the two Lehman sheets and the one in Milan to the early 1400s would seem to be verified by their correspondence, remarked by Degenhart and Schmitt, with the few Sienese drawings that survive from those years, for example the design for the facade of Orvieto Cathedral from about 1420, formerly attributed to Antonio Federighi,⁸ and the sketch for the Fonte Gaia in Siena, attributed by some scholars to no one less than Jacopo della Quercia.⁹ The cadences of pose and drapery in the figures of Rhea Silvia and Acca Laurentia in the Fonte Gaia drawing are much like those of our warriors, and the figure in No. 60, with its robust and elegant perpendicularity, is reminiscent of the sculpture of Jacopo della Quercia and Federighi.



No. 60



No. 61



Fig. 60.3. Siena, ca. 1400, *The Evangelists Luke and John*. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York

As Stuart Pyhrr has pointed out, both of these figures are dressed in pseudo-antique costume, with early fifteenth-century *vambraces* (the armor covering the arms) mixed with *pauldrons* and *poleyns* (armor for the shoulders and knees) *all'antica*. They also appear to be wearing *brigandines*, a form of armor constructed of small overlapping steel plates sewn within layers of fabric, with the securing rivet heads showing on the outer (and usually more colorful) fabric.

The figures' identity remains a mystery. Because they lack crowns, they must be heroes or conquerors rather than kings or emperors. Like the youth in No. 60, the more richly draped warrior in the drawing in Milan holds a globe(?) and a sword. Degenhart and Schmitt argued in 1980–82 that the short sword carried by the warrior in No. 60 might suggest a man from the East, noting that Saladin is depicted with a similar sword in Leonardo da Besozzo's chronicle in the Vittorio Crespini collection, Milan, derived from the *Chronicle of the World* fresco

cycle in the Casa Orsini.¹⁰ But rich, fantastic armor and peaked hats like these are found in Western art as well. In fact, the sumptuous costumes would seem to confirm the drawings' Sienese origin, as does the physical type of the figures.¹¹

NOTES:

1. According to the Robert Lehman Collection files, Nos. 60 and 61 were both restored in 1965 at the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York.
2. This might explain the slight difference in the size of the two drawings: if No. 61 had been at the right, on the part of the sheet that usually remains flatter in the bound volume, it could have retained a somewhat greater width when the sheet was cut in two.
3. Degenhart and Schmitt 1980–82, no. 714, pl. 188b. The drawing, which measures 181 x 124 mm, is annotated in a sixteenth-century hand: *mano di Pisano*.
4. Degenhart and Schmitt 1968, under no. 106, fig. 279. Van Marle had earlier attributed the painting to a follower of Simone Martini. Szabo (1983, no. 1) went along with Degenhart and Schmitt's 1968 attribution of the Lehman drawings to a Sienese artist of the late fourteenth century, but he did not take into account either their later opinion (1980–82) or the drawing in the Lampugnani collection.
5. As Simpson (1966, p. 137) has noted, Vasari twice mentioned "la sala di casa Orsini vecchia in Monte Giordano," and Filarete made a veiled reference to the fresco cycle in his *Trattato d'architettura* (1460–64) when he described the proper decoration for the *cortile* of his ideal palace. The frescoes are now known only through various copies: the program Filarete described corresponds to the picture chronicle of famous men by Leonardo da Besozzo in the Vittorio Crespini collection, Milan; another such series of drawings, by an anonymous French artist, was once in the Sidney Cockerell collection, London, and is now dispersed (see Scheller 1962, pp. 56–57; Simpson 1966, p. 137, n. 10; Degenhart and Schmitt 1968, nos. 566–620; Mode 1970, pp. 43–82). According to the most recent research the frescoes were painted in 1432 by Masolino, with the collaboration of Paolo Uccello at a later date (see Simpson 1966 and Mode 1972; see also Scalabrini 1988).
6. Pierpont Morgan Library, 1.2; Degenhart and Schmitt 1968, no. 110, pl. 160a. Bellosi (Florence 1978, p. xx, paragraph preceding the one quoted in note 7 below) suggested that the drawing in the Pierpont Morgan Library originated in the third decade of the fifteenth century.
7. Bellosi in Florence 1978, p. xx: "Ad una cultura figurativa simile (piuttosto che a quella senese della fine del Trecento), di cui partecipano anche, oltre a Lorenzo Monaco e al Ghiberti, il giovane Masolino, Arcangelo di Cola da Camerino e forse il giovane Angelico, sembrano rifarsi i due sottili e raffinati disegni della collezione Robert Lehman. . . . Troppo profani per Lorenzo Monaco, troppo gracili per il Ghiberti, essi sono tuttavia ben confrontabili con le figurazioni della Porta Nord e delle croci ghibertiane dell'Impruneta, di Montemagno e del Museo Capitolare di Pistoia."

8. Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Orvieto; Degenhart and Schmitt 1968, no. 119 (as Sienese, ca. 1420).
9. Metropolitan Museum, 49.141; and Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Dyce Bequest 181, two fragments of a design for the Fonte Gaia in Siena. See *ibid.*, nos. 112, 113 (as by Jacopo della Quercia or an artist closely reflecting his concepts). See also, for the London fragment, Ward-Jackson 1979–80, vol. 1, no. 17 (as after Jacopo della Quercia), and, for the New York fragment, Bean and Turčić 1982, no. 209 (as Jacopo della Quercia[?]), both with full bibliographies and a discussion of the controversy over the attribution of the drawing.
10. See note 5 above.
11. After this text was submitted, Nos. 60 and 61 were published by De Marchi (1988–89, pp. 193, 198) as attributed to Arcangelo di Cola da Camerino, an artist who is still too little known as a draftsman to allow attributing to him drawings that are unrelated to his painted oeuvre.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Verona. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1934.

EXHIBITED: Oberlin 1942–44; Cincinnati 1959, no. 196; New York 1978, no. 1, ill.

LITERATURE: Fossi Todorow 1966, no. 347, pl. 128; Degenhart and Schmitt 1968, no. 105, pl. 155a; Bellosi in Florence 1978, p. xx; Degenhart and Schmitt 1980–82, under no. 714; Szabo 1983, no. 1, ill.; De Marchi 1988–89, pp. 193, 198, fig. 13.

Siena

Early fifteenth century

61. A Young Man in Armor, Facing Front

1975.1.403

Pen and brown ink, brown wash; various markings in black chalk probably by a later hand. 173 x 133 mm. Laid down on Japan paper. Annotated in pen and brown ink in the lower left corner in a sixteenth-century hand: *Vittore Pisanello*.

For the critical history and a discussion of the subject of this drawing, see No. 60. Because it is by no means as well preserved as its companion, this sheet is more difficult to read.¹ As we have said, the head of the long, slender spear this warrior grasps in his left hand and supports with his right appears on the right edge of No. 60. The two warriors wear similar studded armor, but with different knee pieces and headgear. The hat here has peaks that might indicate a crown, but the way it sits slantwise on the figure's head seems unbefitting royal insignia. This figure is more articulated than the warrior in No. 60, and the face has the sunken cheeks and high cheekbones favored by the Lorenzetti – further confirmation that these sheets are products of a rich but idiosyncratic culture that is more likely to have been Sienese than Florentine.

NOTE:

1. See No. 60, note 1.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Verona. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1934(?).

EXHIBITED: Buffalo 1935, no. 5, ill.; Oberlin 1942–44; New York 1978, no. 2, ill.

LITERATURE: Fossi Todorow 1966, no. 346, pl. 128; Degenhart and Schmitt 1968, no. 106, pl. 155b; Bellosi in Florence 1978, p. xx; Degenhart and Schmitt 1980–82, under no. 714; Szabo 1983, no. 2, ill.

Lorenzo Monaco

(Piero di Giovanni)

Siena ca. 1370–Florence 1425

When he took his vows at the Camaldolese monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli in Florence in 1391, Lorenzo Monaco was no doubt already a miniaturist and perhaps also a painter working in the manner of Agnolo Gaddi and Spinello Aretino. Although Lorenzo's style was fundamentally International Gothic, it retained the conservative, deeply religious character of his initial training, even later in his career when he was attracted by the work of Ghiberti and by the new monumentality of Renaissance art.

The *Coronation of the Virgin* (Uffizi, Florence) Lorenzo completed in 1414 for Santa Maria degli Angeli is typical of the many works he produced in Tuscany. The new iconographic formulas he introduced in his Madonnas and shaped-panel Crucifixions were widely adopted in early Quattrocento religious art, particularly by the more conservative painters. His treatment of such standard themes as the Annunciation (as in the triptych in the Accademia, Florence) and the Adoration of the Magi (for example, the panel of about 1420–22 in the Uffizi) was also influential, as were such narrative fresco cycles as the *Life of the Virgin* he painted in the Bartolini Chapel in Santa Trinita, Florence. In his frescoes Lorenzo successfully translated into large dimensions the linear and narrative approach of his early training as a miniaturist. The few graphic works that can be securely attributed to him are indeed more like miniatures than drawings.

Circle of Lorenzo Monaco

62. Three Allegorical Female Figures and Studies of a Seated Old Man

1975.I.335

Metalpoint, touches of brush and brown wash, heightened with white (partly oxidized in the figure at the lower left), on reddish violet prepared paper. Some lines retraced in pen and brown ink at a later date. 249 x 185 mm. Laid down; old backing partly removed. Tears and some losses, particularly in the corners, where the sheet must have been glued, and in the allegorical figure at the lower left; some stains; trimmed, especially at the top. Annotated at the upper right, in the same ink used to retouch the drawing, in what may be a sixteenth-century hand: *xxxiii*.

Both Ragghianti Collobi and Szabo have suggested that this rare drawing may be the one Vasari described in his life of Lorenzo Monaco: "In our book of drawings I

have from the hand of don Lorenzo the theological Virtues done in chiaroscuro, with such fine design and in so beautiful and graceful a style that they may well be better than the drawings of any other master of those times."¹

This is indeed a chiaroscuro drawing depicting the Virtues (although only one of them is theological), and the Roman numerals written at the upper right in the same ink used to retrace the drapery would seem to indicate that perhaps as early as the sixteenth century this was one of a series of sheets or a page in an album owned by a collector. It is also possible that the old backing masks earlier traces of a mount. These few facts are not sufficient proof that the drawing was once part of Vasari's *Libro de' disegni*, but the hypothesis is nonetheless intriguing, not least because it sets the drawing in what is probably the correct cultural milieu.

These figures have parallels, from a technical standpoint as well, in drawings plausibly attributed to Lorenzo Monaco or to artists of his immediate and also his broader circle, among them the *Visitation* and the *Journey of the Magi* in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin.² Also not too remote from our drawing is the *Studies of Saint Francis Kneeling and Other Figures* formerly in the Campbell collection in Crarae, Argyllshire, Scotland, and now in the Woodner collection, New York.³ The Woodner drawing, which bears an old attribution to Giotto, has recently been ascribed to Taddeo Gaddi (ca. 1300–1366) or his circle, but Degenhart and Schmitt, although they dated it about 1340, called it simply "Florentine."⁴ And Bellosi judged it to be much later, from the fifteenth century, because "its superabundant draperies bear a general resemblance to [the work of] Giovanni del Ponte himself, or at any rate to the 'ambience of Starnina'" – a characterization that could be applied to our drawing as well.⁵ The *Seated Evangelist* in the Louvre, Paris, and the *Four Standing Saints* in the Uffizi, Florence, also seem to share fundamental characteristics with our drawing.⁶ Those two drawings have in the past been ascribed to the Master of the Bambino Vispo, whom a recent proposal considers identical with Gherardo Starnina.⁷

The closest parallel, however, is a sheet of figure studies in the Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf (Fig. 62.1) that has been attributed to Lorenzo Monaco and, more credibly, to the Master of the Bambino Vispo.⁸ In that drawing the rich folds of the drapery, modulated with marked perpendiculars, resemble the folds that cover the legs of our figures and serve as bases for the torsos and arms, with their expansive gestures. The drapery in the Düsseldorf drawing strikes one as more relaxed and simpler than that of Lorenzo Monaco, on fully modeled, almost



No. 62



Fig. 62.1 Master of the Bambino Vispo (Gherardo Starnina) or Lorenzo Monaco(?), *Sheet of Figure Studies* (recto and verso). Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, Akademiesammlung

Ghibertian figures. Although it is a sketchier drawing done solely in pen and ink, the *Two Studies of Saint Jerome at His Lectern* in the Uffizi, from about 1430 and by a Florentine artist, has similar drapery and a similar sculptural solidity.⁹

Nearly a century ago Sirén attributed the Uffizi drawing to Giovanni del Ponte (or, more accurately, Giovanni di Marco),¹⁰ a name that was first applied to our sheet when it was shown in Buffalo in 1935. The attribution has since gone generally uncontested, except for Béguin's uncertainty in 1957, when the drawing was exhibited in Paris, and Bellosi's assessment of it in 1978 and 1985 as oriented less toward Giovanni del Ponte or the Master of the Bambino Vispo than toward artists like the Master of the Judgment of Paris, who painted the birth salver in the Bargello, Florence.¹¹ Our drawing, along with the *Saint Jerome* in the Uffizi and a *Charity* in the Lugt collection, Paris,¹² happens to be among the few sheets ever ascribed to Giovanni del Ponte, and it is the only drawing Degenhart and Schmitt accepted as his. This recent tradition notwithstanding, I see no particular rea-

son to pronounce his name in connection with the Lehman sheet rather than that of any other Florentine artist working in about the 1420s who had been influenced by the gothicizing manner of Lorenzo Monaco or the even more International style of the Master of the Bambino Vispo (Starnina). Their work is capricious, at once acrid and florid, already anticipating the Renaissance as we see it in works of Rossello di Jacopo Franchi or Francesco d'Antonio. These concepts are manifested even in paintings, for example, Lorenzo's *Four Prophets* in the Metropolitan Museum and his *Madonna of Humility* in the Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart (which resemble our drawing in the drapery).¹³ The same approach was embraced by artists for whom we have no name, the author of *The Story of Jacob* in the Green Cloister of Santa Maria Novella, Florence, painted in chiaroscuro like our drawing, or the Master of the Judgment of Paris. In a mythological context, the Master of the Judgment of Paris depicted women with similar types of faces – taciturn and a little obtuse, even animal-like – and similar undulating, garlandlike drapery. Giovanni del Ponte's approach tended to be hast-

ier, less intensely Gothic, as can be seen in the cassone panel *The Seven Liberal Arts* in the Prado, Madrid.¹⁴ Because of the analogous theme the cassone panel has been alluded to in connection with the Lehman drawing, but it is in fact considerably less elegant and incisive. Degenhart and Schmitt's reference to the *Martyrdom of Saint Peter* in the breviary in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, would seem to be even less to the point on the question of authorship, although they were justified in making use of the illumination, which they believe was inspired by the scene in Masolino's polyptych of 1426 in Pisa, to date the Lehman drawing to the late 1420s.¹⁵

Our drawing's relation to the works of the Master of the Bambino Vispo (Starnina) is easier to discern. One can, for instance, refer to paintings like *The Last Judgment* in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich (Fig. 62.2),¹⁶ and the predella in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, where the small figures squatting on the ground resemble the three small saints or prophets at the right of our sheet, which also recall the Saint Joseph in the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri, and the *Prophets with Angels* in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. It would be rash, however, to attribute the drawing to the same hand.

It has been suggested that the three studies of a small seated figure on our sheet were intended for an onlooker at the Transfiguration or the Ascension, but the figures appear more lost in thought than enthralled. Their static poses seem more appropriate for Evangelists or Prophets, and their pyramidal shape would fit nicely into a triangular space, perhaps a cross-ribbed vault in a chapel or the small compartments of a polyptych, like those surmounting Francesco d'Antonio's *Madonna and Saints* (Musée de Peinture et de Sculpture, Grenoble). Then too, they are drawn with such minute care that they might possibly be copies in the manner of medieval exempla. In fact, the figure on the right recalls the monastic saint at the right in Lorenzo Monaco's *Crucifixion* in the Staatliches Lindenau-Museum, Altenburg, and the pose of the lowermost figure is similar to that of the hermit on the verso of one of the sheets in the famous but problematic sketchbook in the Uffizi, which has been attributed to the most disparate masters of the International Gothic and even to the Master of the Bambino Vispo.¹⁷ None of which, however, rules out the possibility that the figures were copied from a common prototype.

As for the three larger figures, there can be no doubt that the woman at the upper left is Temperance in the traditional act of pouring water, and the uplifted arms

and inspired expression of Hope, at the right, are just as common. The Virtue at the lower left is more difficult to identify. The armor and the sword might indicate that this is Fortitude, but the same symbols of command – sword, crown, and globe – are also attributes of Justice, who does sometimes appear without her scales (as in No. 64). In any case, only Hope would fit Vasari's description of the drawing in his *Libro*.¹⁸

NOTES:

1. Vasari (1568) 1878–85, vol. 2, p. 26: "Nel nostro libro dei disegni, ho di mano di don Lorenzo le Virtù teologiche fatte di chiaroscuro, con buon disegno e bella e graziosa maniera, intanto che sono per avventura migliori che i disegni di qualsivoglia altro maestro di que'tempi."
2. Kupferstichkabinett, 608, 609; Degenhart and Schmitt 1968, nos. 171, 172, pls. 197a, b.
3. Malibu–Fort Worth–Washington, D.C. 1983–84, no. 1, ill.; New York 1990, no. 1, ill.
4. Degenhart and Schmitt 1968, no. 25, pl. 50.



Fig. 62.2 Master of the Bambino Vispo (Gherardo Starnina), *The Last Judgment*. Alte Pinakothek, Munich

5. Bellosi in Florence 1978, p. XIX: "mostra nei suoi sovrabbondanti panneggi un'aria di famiglia con lo stesso Giovanni del Ponte, o almeno con la cultura 'starniniana.'"
6. Louvre, 9834 (Berenson 1961, no. 13911); Uffizi, 14E (Bellosi in Florence 1978, no. 27; Petrioli Tofani 1986-87, p. 7). One of the four saints is Bartholomew. Degenhart and Schmitt catalogued neither the Louvre nor the Uffizi drawing.
7. See Van Waadeniojen 1974 and also Syre 1979. In that case, works assembled under the name of the Master of the Bambino Vispo date from an earlier period, as Starnina is not documented after 1413. If Van Waadeniojen and Syre are correct, Starnina may have influenced Lorenzo Monaco.
8. Kunstmuseum, FP.1 (recto and verso); Berenson 1961, no. 1391H; Degenhart and Schmitt 1968, no. 195, pl. 216a, b (in both as Master of the Bambino Vispo).
9. Uffizi, 19E; Berenson 1961, no. 1391E (as school of Lorenzo Monaco); Degenhart and Schmitt 1968, no. 197, pl. 216d (as Tuscan, about 1430; though Degenhart had earlier attributed the drawing to "Lorenzo Monaco?"); Florence 1978, no. 33, fig. 52 (as Florentine, about 1430); Petrioli Tofani 1986-87, p. 9.
10. Sirén 1906, p. 223. For Giovanni del Ponte (Giovanni di Marco), see Guidi 1968.
11. Bellosi in Florence 1978, p. XIX, and oral communication, 1985. On the Master of the Judgment of Paris, see Neri Lusanna 1989 (who does not mention our drawing).
12. Fondation Custodia, 1170; Byam Shaw 1983, no. 2, pl. 1. See also No. 64, note 5.
13. Metropolitan Museum, 65.14.1-4; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, pp. 109-10, vol. 2, ill. p. 14; and Staatsgalerie, 2773; Eisenberg 1989, p. 168, fig. 39.
14. Prado catalogue 1972, pp. 506-7, no. 2844 (cited in Byam Shaw 1983, n. 7 under no. 2).
15. Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Conv. Soppr. 457, fol. 361v; Degenhart and Schmitt 1968, under no. 196, fig. 401.
16. Alte Pinakothek, 10201; Pinakothek catalogue 1938, pp. 151-52; Pudelko 1938, fig. 1.
17. Uffizi, 2268F, with four capital letters on the recto and three figures, one seated on the ground, on the verso. Most of the twenty-six sheets from this dismantled sketchbook have drawings on both sides; they have been ascribed to a wide range of artists, from the Master of the Banderoles and the Master E. S. to the schools of Verona, Alto Adige, and, recently, Valencia (Florence 1978, no. 5).
18. Monbeig Goguel published this drawing in 1989, after this text was submitted. She admits the possibility, albeit with caution, that it may have been part of Vasari's *Libro*.

PROVENANCE: Possibly Giorgio Vasari, Florence; later provenance not established.

EXHIBITED: Buffalo 1935, no. 2, ill.; Northampton (Mass.) 1942-44; Paris 1957, no. 102; Cincinnati 1959, no. 194, ill.; New York 1978, no. 13, ill.

LITERATURE: Berenson 1961, no. 905B-1, fig. 13; Pouncey 1964, p. 285; Degenhart and Schmitt 1968, no. 196, pl. 216c; Ragghianti Collobi 1974, pp. 36, 41; Bellosi in Florence 1978, p. XIX; Byam Shaw 1983, under no. 2; Szabo 1983, no. 8, ill.; Eisenberg 1989, p. 85; Monbeig Goguel 1989, no. 1, ill.

Ottaviano Nelli

(Ottaviano di Martino Nelli)

Gubbio ca. 1375-ca. 1450

From the start Ottaviano Nelli painted in an idiom indebted to Lombard and French manuscript illuminators, but he was later also influenced by the Sienese Taddeo di Bartolo and the more Gothic approach of the Salimbeni brothers of San Severino Marche. Nelli worked in both Umbria and the Marches, on altarpieces like the *Madonna of the Belvedere* of 1403 in Gubbio and, more often, on fresco cycles that despite their religious subjects teem with well-characterized figures observed from life whose vivid naturalness takes them well beyond Gothic calligraphy. Early in his career he decorated Sant'Agostino in Gubbio with frescoes of the Last Judgment and other subjects; his more mature efforts are exemplified by the fresco cycle *Scenes from the Life of the Virgin* of 1424 in the Palazzo Trinci in Foligno. The individual personalities of the large band of collaborators and followers who helped him produce these and many other works are still not well defined.

Whatever Nelli may have done in the way of drawings remains unknown, and neither documents nor any of the few traditional but unfounded attributions fill what is in effect a total hiatus.

Circle of Ottaviano Nelli

63. The Last Judgment

1975.I.562

Brush and brown ink, brown wash, heightened with white, on greenish blue paper. 282 x 188 mm. Laid down. Losses at upper center, along the right edge, and in the lower left corner at an early date. Annotated in pen and brown ink at the lower left (almost illegible): *Ottaviano(?)*.

The now almost illegible annotation at the lower left of this sheet has been said to be in Vasari's own hand and has led to the supposition that the drawing may have belonged to his *Libro de' disegni*.¹ No evidence of Vasari's characteristic framing has survived, however, and it seems strange that the biographer should have owned a drawing by and inscribed it with the name of an artist whom he did not mention in his *Vite*. Whoever its author may have been, the annotation has suggested an attribution to Ottaviano Nelli of a drawing that, for its rarity and early date as well as for its unquestionable vigor, deserves more attention than it has so far enjoyed.

Not until some thirty years after it was first shown publicly at the Oppenheimer sale in 1936, as the work of



an anonymous fifteenth-century Italian, was this sheet correctly interpreted, by Degenhart and Schmitt. When they published the drawing in 1968 Degenhart and Schmitt pointed out that the same composition is found in a Florentine niello (Fig. 63.1),² one of a series of fourteen nielli with Passion scenes that adorned a tabernacle in the Camaldolese monastery in Florence (the niello depicting the Last Judgment and four others are now in the Louvre, Paris; the other nine are in the British Museum, London).³ Noting the formal diversity between the two works, Degenhart and Schmitt rightly concluded that the niello, which dates to the third quarter of the fifteenth century, could not have been derived from our drawing and that both must be based on the same prototype. To have interested artists working at different dates in such divergent styles and mediums the prototype must have been well known. That it was most likely a painting done in the Marches or Umbria not later than the first decades of the fifteenth century is indicated by the compact composition and the physical type and archaic look of the figures, in both our drawing and the more mature and articulate rendering they were given in the niello.

Yet for all that the overall disposition is virtually the same in the two derivations, they differ profoundly in details, which is understandable given the cultural and chronological diversity of their respective authors. In general, the niello has a freer sense of space, the garments are more richly decorative, and the drapery is less ponderous, more rhythmic. In the drawing the figures' gestures are more emotionally intense and their facial expressions cruder, sometimes almost animal-like, and thus more Gothic.⁴

Rather than attributing the Lehman drawing to Ottaviano Nelli, to whom they conceded only a single drawing (and that with reservations),⁵ Degenhart and Schmitt preferred to think of it as by a follower working from a Nelli composition that is now lost or at any rate unknown. This drawing, they said, does not attain the level Nelli achieved in works like the frescoes he painted in the Palazzo Trinci in Foligno in 1424, but its author might have been employed in Nelli's workshop to collaborate on such frescoes as the *Crucifixion* and *Life of Saint Dominic* in the cycle in San Domenico, Fano.⁶

In a drawing in the Albertina, Vienna, that Degenhart and Schmitt also attribute to the Nelli circle similar white highlighting was used to model the forms.⁷ But that drawing is more Gothic than ours, which has a powerful rigidity that makes it unique among the sheets that have survived from the early fifteenth century. Our sheet also differs from another drawing from the same milieu, the

Martyrdom of Saint Catherine in the British Museum, London,⁸ that Szabo invoked in 1983, albeit to justify retaining the ascription to Nelli. As Szabo remarked, correctly, the drawing in London is less fine and less supple than ours. Though it is not without its own vivacity and displays Spanish traits that can also be detected in our sheet, it is certainly a copy. The London sheet also has a less archaic tone than our drawing, as does the *Saint Catherine* in the Louvre, another drawing from the Marches that Degenhart and Schmitt dated to the second quarter of the fifteenth century,⁹ although in physical type the central figure bears some resemblance to the angel in the center of our sheet. A drawing in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, depicting a seated man reading or writing, is not without some technical and formal affinity with ours, notably in the broad linework and the somewhat heavy limbs, but it too is more gothicizing and "modern" than our composition, with its densely packed figures and inverted perspective typical of the Trecento. The Stockholm sheet has been variously attributed to, among others, an artist of the Umbria-Marches area and, significantly, the Master of the Bambino Vispo, who did absorb some Spanish influences.¹⁰ The style of the *Man with a Turban* in the Louvre¹¹ that has been assigned to Nelli as well as to other artists is also more advanced than that of our drawing, already suggesting Gozzoli.

Thus, until further discoveries are made, the closest point of reference for this sheet remains the frescoes by Nelli and his circle that Degenhart and Schmitt singled out. To those we could add the frescoes in San Francesco, Gubbio, in which there are also figures in mandorlas, as well as those in Santa Maria della Piaggiola, Fossato di Vico (Perugia), and in the Oratorio dell'Umiltà, Urbino.¹²

NOTES:

1. Degenhart and Schmitt first suggested the possibility in 1968, and their hypothesis was accepted without reservations in 1974 by Ragghianti Collobi, who saw the hand of Vasari himself in the annotation. Szabo, too, thought the hand was "probably Vasari's." The restorations and the recent backing may have eliminated any traces of a framing by Vasari; there are signs of penwork at the margins that may indicate outlining, but not necessarily by him. What is beyond question is the negative evidence that Vasari wrote nothing about Ottaviano Nelli, nor did he mention owning any of his works.
2. Degenhart and Schmitt 1968, under no. 256, fig. 439.
3. For the five nielli in the Cabinet d'Estampes Edmond de Rothschild, Louvre, see Blum 1950, nos. 2-6; for the nine in the British Museum, see Hind 1936, nos. 142-50 (as



Fig. 63.1 Florence, late fifteenth century, *The Last Judgment*. Musée du Louvre, Paris. Photograph: Réunion des Musées Nationaux

Florentine, about 1450–75). Blum attempted a reconstruction of the small altar or tabernacle in the Camaldolese monastery in 1933 (p. 224, fig. 13). The British Museum also has seven related nielli, with scenes from Genesis, that came from the Carmine monastery in Florence (see Hind 1936, nos. 134–40). Because they are all of later date and probably all derived from earlier compositions, the other nielli can tell us little about our drawing and its origin. Only a thorough investigation of their prototypes might cast some light on our composition and its original purpose.

4. The niello also departs from the drawing in many details: several of the figures, whose faces are fuller and gentler, have been given different hairstyles. The torso of Christ is less deeply marked and skeletal. The folds in the mantle of the first saint on the left are less feathery. The saint sitting second from right is less slumped, and the figure in front of him, now with longer, fuller hair, has a classicizing ornament on his sleeve of the same type as that on the garment of the figure standing at the far left, next to a monk who is missing in the drawing. The angel's stance is closer to the so-called Gothic bend, and her robe is longer and fuller, with more precipitous folds that cover the right leg of the young man standing to the left. The figure at the lower right faces more to the front. Saint Michael's armor is more

complicated, and the devils crowded behind him have quite different faces. And the figures stand on a pavement of black and white tiles rendered in perspective. All these variations signal not only that the artist was working at a later date, closer to the Renaissance, than the author of our sheet but also that he was interpreting an earlier model.

5. Uffizi, 2263F, *Prophet with Scroll*; Degenhart and Schmitt 1968, no. 124, pl. 172b. Degenhart and Schmitt's proposed attribution to Ottaviano Nelli has been generally accepted, though Bellosi (Florence 1978, no. 52) proposed Giovanni da Modena.
6. See Degenhart and Schmitt 1968, under no. 256, figs. 440, 441.
7. Albertina, 1447; *ibid.*, no. 257, pl. 245b. Degenhart and Schmitt called the figure a Father of the Church.
8. British Museum, 1895.9.15.865; Popham and Pouncey 1950, no. 283 (as Marches school, early fifteenth century); Degenhart and Schmitt 1968, no. 150, pl. 184b (as central Italian with echoes of Spanish style, about 1430). A handwritten note in the Robert Lehman Collection files refers to a "companion drawing" to the Lehman drawing in the Victoria and Albert Museum. As no such sheet is included in Ward-Jackson 1979–80, the reference is probably to the drawing in the British Museum.
9. Louvre, 28921; Degenhart and Schmitt 1968, no. 149, pl. 184a.
10. Nationalmuseum, 15; Berenson 1961, no. 1391J (as Master of the Bambino Vispo); Degenhart and Schmitt 1968, no. 121, pl. 172a. Degenhart and Schmitt relate this drawing to the Umbrian-Marches school of the early fifteenth century.
11. Louvre, RF435; Degenhart and Schmitt 1968, no. 458, pl. 334c, d (as Gozzoli workshop).
12. For the frescoes in San Francesco, Gubbio, see Santi 1960, where they are dated to the first decade of the fifteenth century, and Roli 1961, where they are said to have been painted a decade later. For the frescoes in Santa Maria della Piaggiola, Fossato di Vico, see Donnini 1972; for those in the Oratorio dell'Umiltà, see Urbino 1973, no. 162.

PROVENANCE: Henry Oppenheimer, London; Oppenheimer sale 1936, lot 2b.

EXHIBITED: New York 1978, no. 9, ill.

LITERATURE: Degenhart and Schmitt 1968, no. 256, pl. 245a; Ragghianti Collobi 1974, p. 29, fig. 18; Szabo 1983, no. 5, ill.

Fra Angelico

(Guido di Pietro, Fra Giovanni da Fiesole, called Beato Angelico)

Presumably Vicchio di Mugello ca. 1386/88–Rome 1455

Angelico was already active as a painter when he entered the monastery of San Domenico in Fiesole, near Florence. His earliest known works are Gothic religious miniatures, and the treatment of color and line in his first paintings, such as the altarpiece in San Domenico and the *Madonna Enthroned with Twelve Angels* in the Städelches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main, is also very much related to the International Gothic style of artists like Lorenzo Monaco. Soon, however, Angelico was drawn to the new Renaissance conception of form and perspective, particularly as interpreted by Masaccio. A more modern feeling infuses the so-called *Annalena Madonna* of about 1430, the *Deposition* from the sacristy of Santa Trinita of about 1435–40, and the *Linaiuoli Altarpiece* commissioned in 1433 by the Linen Drapers Guild (all Museo di San Marco, Florence), as well as the *Coronation of the Virgin* in the Louvre, in which Angelico adopted formulas from the earlier version now in the Uffizi.

Though assistants' hands can be detected in such works as the polyptych of 1437 in the Galleria Nazionale, Perugia, the feeling and style of Angelico's inventions are unmistakable. And the same is true of the frescoes he and his pupils painted in the monastery of San Marco in Florence, which the Dominican Order took over in 1436 and hired Michelozzo to rebuild. The San Marco frescoes, forty-four of them in the friars' cells, are in perfect harmony with Michelozzo's limpid architecture and the buildings' monastic function.

The decoration of San Marco began in 1438 and was completed by late 1445, when Angelico left for Rome to work in the Vatican under Pope Eugenius IV and, from 1447, his successor, Nicholas V. From 1449 to 1452 Angelico served as prior of San Marco, but he returned to Rome, probably in 1452, and died there in 1455. The frescoes in the Chapel of Nicholas V in the Vatican, narrating with sober equilibrium episodes from the lives of saints Stephen and Lawrence, are all that survive from his years in Rome.

That Angelico's assistants took on an increasingly predominant role in the numerous panel paintings from his last years can be viewed as a sign of the broad consensus his art had won. But it also means that, with rare exceptions, most of the drawings that bear his imprint must rightly be attributed to his shop and followers.

Follower of Fra Angelico

64. Justice(?)

1975.I.264

Pen and brown ink, brush and brown wash (the blade of the sword in pen and darker brown ink). 193 x 170 mm. Touches of white (partly oxidized) probably added to disguise spots in the bodice and the folds of the skirt. Watermark: bow and arrow.

Verso: Sketch of a baby in swaddling clothes and fragments of another sketch. Pen and brown ink on paper smudged with red chalk that shows through on the recto. Annotated in pen and brown ink in a seventeenth-century hand: *Tadeo bartoli*.

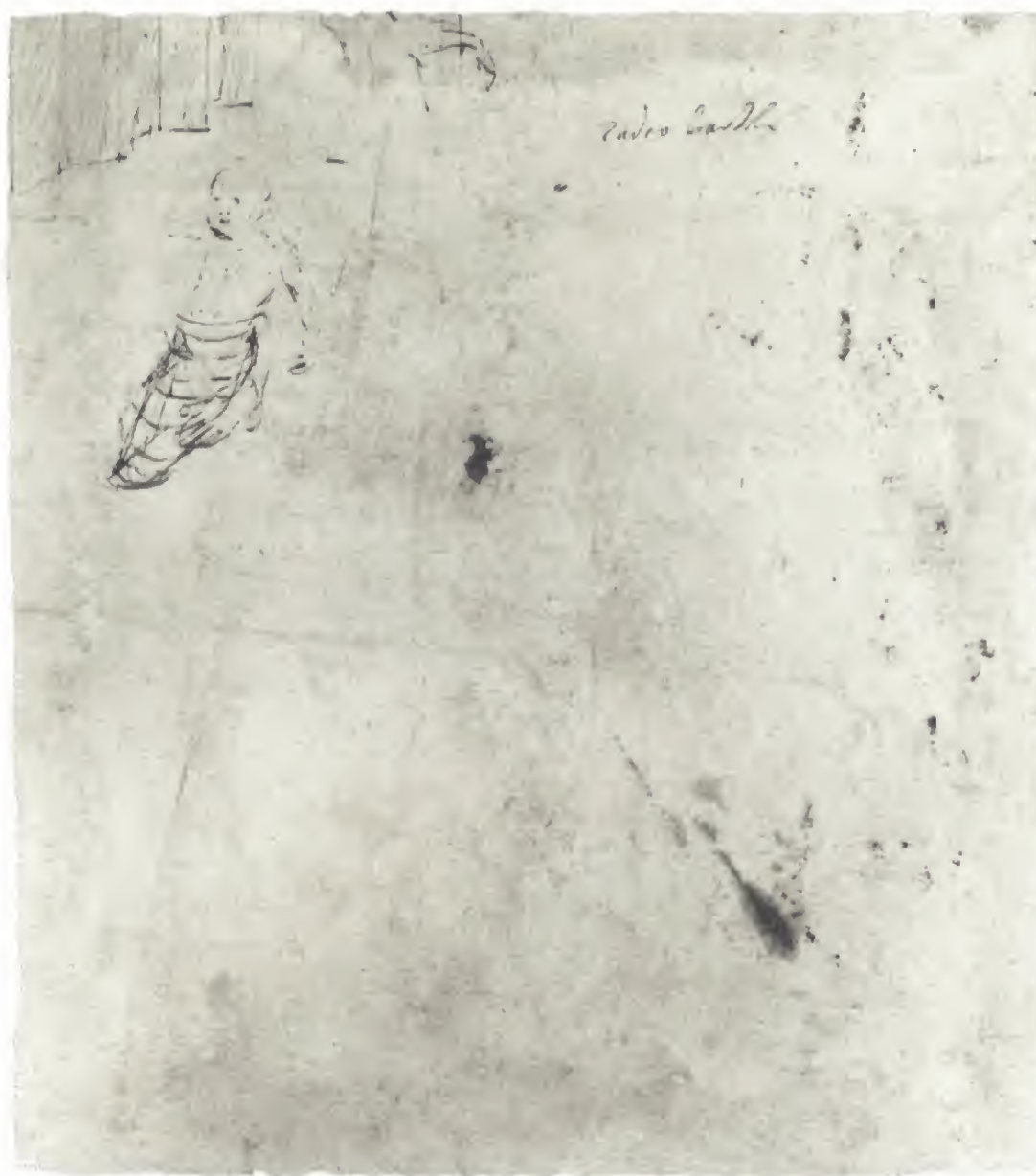
The annotation and part of a frame drawn in pen and ink on the verso hint at an intriguing history, but unfortunately this drawing's provenance has not been traced. The handwriting is similar to that of Filippo Baldinucci, who is known to have written hypothetical attributions on the backs of many of the drawings in his own collection and in that of Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici, for whom he acted as curator.¹ But that Baldinucci owned this drawing is as impossible to prove as Degenhart and Schmitt's suggestion, repeated by Ragghianti Collobi, that the sheet was once part of Vasari's famous *Libro de' disegni*.²

Whoever wrote the rare and notoriously difficult attribution to the Siense Taddeo di Bartolo (1362–1422) on this drawing may have been well acquainted with Tuscan art and have had in mind Taddeo's painting *Justice* in the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena. Taddeo's *Justice* is also seated, and she wears a crown and a secular garment with embroidered trim. She holds books in her left hand, but in her right she wields a sword and a globe rather than scales (see also No. 62). Nonetheless, the attribution is obviously unacceptable, for reasons of both style and chronology.³

When Berenson first drew attention to this sheet in 1961 he said it was "by a follower of Angelico who anticipates Pesellino, but not good enough to be by him."⁴ In subsequent studies, however, opinions have leaned toward Pesellino or at any rate his circle. In 1968 Degenhart and Schmitt used the Lehman drawing, which they considered Florentine, from about 1500, as a comparative illustration in their discussion of three sheets they believed to be from a series of drawings of the Virtues by a follower of Pesellino: a *Hope* and a *Fortitude* in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, and a *Charity* in the Lugt collection, Paris.⁵ They saw all four drawings as very late reflections of allegorical figures originally formulated much earlier and partaking in the tradition of the so-called model books. According to them,



No. 64, *recto*



No. 64, *verso*

the precedents in this case were to be found in paintings of the Pesellino school such as the cassone panel depicting the Virtues, now in the Birmingham Museum of Art, Alabama, and, though further removed, the painting in the Museo de Arte de Cataluña, Barcelona.⁶ As Degenhart and Schmitt also pointed out, the subject matter is what the drawings in Rotterdam and Paris have in common with the paintings, their style being quite different. The same applies to our drawing. Both Ragghianti Collobi,

in 1974, and Szabo, in 1978, ascribed our drawing to Pesellino himself, but Pesellino's style is both more rigid and more decisive than this, at least in the sheets in the Uffizi that form the nucleus of his accepted graphic oeuvre.⁷

The pose here is classical, placid. The figure's head turns languidly to the left, the light wash quietly follows contours as clear-cut as those in a miniature, and the drapery falls softly, without excessive Gothic stylization,

just as in the drawings most securely attributed to Fra Angelico. One is reminded, for instance, of the drawings in the Uffizi that can be attributed either directly to Angelico or to his school⁸ and, especially, of the famous *David* in the British Museum, London,⁹ which has been ascribed both to Angelico and to Zanobi Strozzi, his most devoted pupil. The lack of sustained tension in our drawing, however, in the arms and hands as well as in the hatched shading of the drapery, is enough to rule out both Angelico and Strozzi, who was also a miniaturist.

That same graceful but impersonal and rather slack quality also eliminates Benozzo Gozzoli, though our sheet might recall certain of his drawings.¹⁰ Domenico di Michelino, whom Szabo suggested in 1983, is also not a possibility; he is simply not known as a draftsman, and the Angelesque motifs in his paintings are more advanced, tending toward the incisive linearism of Pesellino or Lippi.¹¹ An *Astronomy* in the Uffizi is somewhat analogous to our figure in composition and structure, but its linear definition is more incisive, and it has a fluency more typical of a gothicizing revival of the end of the fifteenth century and a sculptural quality that recalls Pollaiuolo.¹² The broadly classical character of our drawing places it about 1440 or not much later, a date Bellosi agrees with, as he does with the attribution to the school of Fra Angelico.¹³

NOTES:

1. Most of these sheets are now in the Louvre, Paris, and the Uffizi, Florence; see Rome 1959 and Florence 1976a, as well as Baldinucci (1845–47) 1974–75.
2. Their hypothesis was based on fragments of what was interpreted as a decorative frame drawn on the back, but those fragments have no particular traits that would justify interpreting them as part of one of Vasari's decorative devices. In a note of 1965 (Robert Lehman Collection files) Schmitt also suggested that Vasari may have written *Tadeo bartoli* (not *Tadeo Gaddi*, as Szabo read it) on the verso, but the handwriting dates much later, well into the seventeenth century. Vasari ([1568] 1878–85, vol. 2, p. 42) did say that he owned a drawing by Taddeo di Bartolo, but he described it as "a sheet of drawings . . . very skillfully done, in which there are a Christ and two angels."
3. The only known drawing by Taddeo di Bartolo, depicting Pope Gregory XII and dated 1407, is in a document in the Archivio di Stato, Siena (Concistorio 250; Degenhart and Schmitt 1968, no. III, pl. 150b). Its basic disposition is still fully Trecento.
4. Berenson 1961, no. 177A: "Di un seguace dell'Angelico che prelude al Pesellino, ma non abbastanza buono per essere di quest'ultimo." Berenson's opinion is also recorded on a photograph of this drawing in his library at the Harvard Center for Renaissance Studies at Villa I Tatti, Florence.
5. Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, 1.5, 1.533; Fondation Custodia, 1170; Degenhart and Schmitt 1968, nos. 546–48, pl. 370b–d. Van Regteren Altena (1970, p. 401) ascribed the three drawings to the Mannerist sphere, as did Bellosi (Florence 1978, p. xxvii). Byam Shaw (1983, no. 2) attributed the drawing in Paris (which is in metalpoint) to Giovanni del Ponte and believes it possible that the two drawings in Rotterdam, plus another in the same museum (1.107) depicting Justice, are "pen copies by another artist of three somewhat earlier drawings in metalpoint, which were *en suite* with the *Charity* in the Lugt collection."
6. Degenhart and Schmitt 1968, fig. 788 and n. 2 under no. 546.
7. Uffizi, 25S, *The Incredulity of Thomas*; 10E, *Christ Blessing*; 1117E, *The Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine*; 2F, *Saint Philip Seated*; 234E, *A Seated Saint*; 164F, *Two Saints*. See *ibid.*, nos. 516–19, 527, 529, and Florence 1986a, nos. 18, 19, 21, 23 (as Domenico di Michelino), 22, 24.
8. Uffizi, 103E, *Musician Angel and Redeemer*; 98E, *Saint John the Evangelist*; 99E, *Kneeling Angel*; 100E, *Virgin*; 95E, *Two Evangelists and a Sainted Bishop*; 96E, *An Evangelist and Two Fathers of the Church*. See Florence 1978, nos. 63, 65–69, and Petrioli Tofani 1986–87, pp. 43–46.
9. British Museum, 1895.9.15.437; Degenhart and Schmitt 1968, no. 369, pl. 307b.
10. See in particular the *Head of a Youth* (recto) and *Saint Lawrence and Figures* (verso) and *Head of a Boy* (recto) and *Four Saints* (verso) in the Royal Library, Windsor Castle (12812, 12811); the *Saint Michael and a Boy* (recto) and *Male Nude* (verso) in the Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden (C.6); the *Portrait of a Boy* (recto) and *Madonna and Child* (verso) in the Uffizi (101E); and the *Saint Mark* (recto) and *Saint John the Evangelist* (verso) in the Musée Condé, Chantilly (F.R.II-6). See Degenhart and Schmitt 1968, nos. 397, 401, 399, 400, 403, and Florence 1986a, no. 2.
11. The few sheets that have been attributed to Domenico di Michelino have been shifted many times from one name to another. The *Horseman and Two Heads* (recto) and *Saint Severus* (verso) in the British Museum was given to Domenico by Berenson (1961, no. 1751) but attributed to Gozzoli by Degenhart and Schmitt (1968, no. 409) and others, and it has also been ascribed to Angelico. The *Christ and Apostles* (recto) and *Architectural Study* (verso) in the Louvre (RF430), which Berenson (1961, no. 1752) attributed to Domenico, is often given to Angelico himself (see Degenhart and Schmitt 1968, no. 372).
12. Uffizi, 93F; Degenhart and Schmitt 1968, pp. 614, 616, fig. 919 (included in the so-called Finiguerra group); Florence 1986a, no. 57.
13. Oral communication, 1986.

PROVENANCE: V. Everit Macy. Acquired by Robert Lehman in the 1930s.

EXHIBITED: Poughkeepsie 1942–44; New York 1978, no. 12, ill.

LITERATURE: Berenson 1961, no. 177A; Degenhart and Schmitt 1968, under no. 545, fig. 789, p. 637; Ragghianti Collobi 1974, p. 64, figs. 154, 155; Szabo 1983, no. 7, ill.

Antonello da Messina

Messina ca. 1430–Messina 1479

Antonello da Messina was trained in Sicily and Naples, where he is said to have been apprenticed in the workshop of Colantonio. By 1456 he headed his own workshop in Messina, but no works from those early years have been documented. His first known signed and dated painting, the *Salvator Mundi* of 1465 (National Gallery, London), already testifies to his acquaintance not only with Franco-Hispanic-Flemish culture but also with the Renaissance art of central Italy. Other signed and dated works he produced in Sicily in 1473 and 1474, notably the polyptych in the Pinacoteca in Messina and the *Annunciation* in Syracuse, evince a sensibility nourished from the same sources. Vasari spoke of Antonello's traveling to Flanders, but that is improbable, and reports of journeys to Rome, Florence, and even northern Italy have also not been verified. But he could have been exposed to the art of the Provençal school and to paintings by Jan van Eyck and Rogier van der Weyden in Naples, then a lively cultural center.

Antonello is known to have visited Venice in 1475–76. The *Saint Sebastian* now in the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden, the dismantled and dispersed *San Cassiano Altarpiece*, and the many portraits he painted while he was in the city had a profound effect on Venetian painting. Galeazzo Maria Sforza invited Antonello to come to Milan as court painter in 1476, but he instead returned to Messina, where he died three years later.

Antonello's activity as a draftsman has recently been investigated, but very few drawings can be attributed either directly to him or to his workshop.

Antonello da Messina(?)

65. Group of Draped Figures

1975.I.265

Tip of the brush (or fine pen?) and brown ink. 110 x 149 mm. Irregular edges; upper corners made up; tear at upper center; various creases and smudges.

Soon after Robert Lehman acquired this exceptional drawing in Paris in the 1920s from an unknown source it was assigned a prestigious attribution to Petrus Christus, and it was shown as such in Buffalo in 1935 and again in Cincinnati in 1959. In 1939, however, Frankfurter had connected it with the tradition of robed, hooded, and draped mourners in the sculpture of fifteenth-century Bur-

gundy and ascribed it to a Burgundian miniaturist or, more likely, sculptor, perhaps Jean de la Huerta or Claus de Werve, Claus Sluter's nephew who died in 1439. "Which would make it," Frankfurter concluded, "one of the few [drawings] connected with the great Burgundian sculptors." No other drawings have been ascribed to Sluter or his circle.

Longhi, in 1953, was the first to propose the attribution to Antonello, arguing that the drawing is in fact a study for the mourning women in Antonello's *Crucifixion* (formerly in Sibiu, Romania, and now in the Muzeul Național de Artă, Bucharest),¹ a "solemnly 'Burgundian' group" disposed "on the slippery downhill slope already common in the Crucifixions of Jan Van Eyck and Petrus Christus."² Longhi dated the *Crucifixion* (Fig. 65.1) to 1460–65, a time of "suture between the two 'spaces' and the two 'forms' [i.e., the Flemish-Provençal and the Italian and by then Renaissance influences] that contended with each other in Antonello's art."³ Although in light of



Fig. 65.1 Antonello da Messina, *The Crucifixion*. Muzeul Național de Artă, Bucharest



No. 65

what we know today Longhi's conclusion was not entirely correct, his intuition about the style and date of the drawing was remarkably apt.

Not much was added to Longhi's observations until 1981, when the drawing was included in the Antonello exhibition in Messina.⁴ While the authors of the catalogue of the exhibition continued to note its relationship to the Bucharest *Crucifixion*, which they dated well into the 1460s, they found the drawing more archaizing and therefore supposed that it was intended for another of Antonello's *Crucifixions*, of the type represented by the one in the Henschel collection but in any case still linked to the artist's exposure to Franco-Flemish art in the Colantonio workshop in Naples. Although he seems to have been unaware of the Messina catalogue, Szabo arrived at similar conclusions in 1983, arguing that the

figures in the Bucharest *Crucifixion* are more Italianate and animated than those in the drawing and the treatment of the drapery less Flemish. Quite rightly, he found the figures with relatively small heads and large bodies and the rich folds of drapery arranged on the ground in the drawing closer to motifs in the so-called *Friedsam Annunciation* in the Metropolitan Museum, which he considered to be by a major post-Eyckian artist active in Bruges in the early 1450s.⁵ From this he deduced that Antonello might have produced the drawing during an earlier visit to Bruges and carried it back to Italy, later making use of it in the preparation of the Bucharest *Crucifixion*.

Vasari does report a trip to Bruges, but his biography of Antonello is as notoriously vague as his information about most other non-Tuscan artists of the Quattrocento.

No other documents confirm Vasari's report, nor does it appear that anyone still takes it seriously, as the elements of Flemish and Burgundian art and culture Antonello would have been able to absorb in Naples and perhaps in Rome are quite sufficient to explain his Flemish approach in general and in this drawing in particular.⁶

All these attempts to interpret the Lehman sheet have now been overshadowed by the appearance of an extremely important pen and ink drawing acquired by the Louvre in 1983 (Fig. 65.2).⁷ As part of the so-called Borghese Album, the Louvre drawing was traditionally attributed to the Dutch school, but in 1984 Bacou published it under the appropriate name of Antonello. It depicts the six figures from our drawing in a broader and more spatially well defined narrative context, in a wide street lined with elaborate crenelated houses, and with another group of three quite similar cloaked figures advancing from the right. At least as far as can be judged given the lacunae in both sheets, there is virtually no variation in the six women and the folds of their cloaks, but the figures are less crowded and somewhat more rounded in the Louvre drawing, and the sense of greater space and depth is enhanced by the broader, more complete setting.

Our drawing, as Bacou suggested, can only be either a second version or a copy of a detail of the Louvre sheet, not so much because it is smaller (the Louvre sheet measures 212 by 191 mm in its current fragmented state, but either or both of the sheets might originally have been larger) but because it has the harder, more schematic feeling typical of replicas. Although the linework is similarly delicate, there is a certain hesitancy in our drawing in the relationships between the planes both of the drapery folds and of the figures themselves. Whether our drawing is by the same hand or a workshop product is difficult to decide without studying the two originals side by side, especially in view of their worn condition and the lack of comparable sheets. Unfortunately we know nothing about how Antonello worked or whether he used studies in the preparatory stages of his paintings, and the few other drawings that have been attributed to him are very different from these.⁸ We can also do no more than hypothesize about the purpose of the two drawings. Certainly a street scene with women strolling about and conversing in broad daylight would have existed in the fifteenth century only as a study for the background of a narrative picture, most likely on a sacred theme.

The large, terraced houses with flowerpots on the merlons and the city gate in the Louvre drawing are unequivocally Italian. Though they are more southern than

Venetian, they do recall to some extent the background in the *Saint Sebastian* (Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden) that Antonello painted in Venice about 1475–76.⁹ The Louvre sheet may document the same moment of transition in Antonello's art that Longhi perceived in the Bucharest *Crucifixion*, with its sunlit, crenelated houses; the dichotomy between the Flemish figures and the background in Renaissance perspective is obvious in both the drawing and the painting. This would confirm, albeit by a different route, the date of the early 1460s that Longhi proposed for our drawing, which because it lacks an architectural setting has been dated earlier than it should be. The minute, almost dotlike manner of drawing, reminiscent of illuminations, is undeniably rather archaizing, but it matches the limpidly microscopic treatment in Antonello's paintings and in the Louvre sheet, the only drawing that can be ascribed to him with any certainty. The existence of the Louvre drawing, obviously of higher quality and compositionally more complex than ours, inevitably makes us more cautious about assigning the Lehman drawing directly to Antonello. Whether it is by Antonello himself or an immediate follower, however, this sheet is of considerable importance not only because of its rarity and its early date but also as an aid in visualizing the portions of the drapery that are fragmentary or illegible in the Louvre drawing and as testimony to the fame this composition must have enjoyed.

NOTES:

1. Sciascia and Mandel 1967, no. 9, pl. 1.
2. Longhi 1953, p. 28: "Questo gruppo gravemente 'borgognone' è allogato, nel quadro, sulla china scivolosa e franante già solita alle Crocifissioni di Jan Van Eyck e di Petrus Cristi."
3. Ibid., p. 27: "sutura tra i due 'spazi' e le due 'forme' che si combattevano nella cultura di Antonello."
4. Note that the reference to an "Acquis" collection in the provenance given for the Lehman drawing in Messina 1981–82 (no. 43) is obviously an error, the word *acquisizione* having been mistaken for a name.
5. Metropolitan Museum, 32.100.35; Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 55, vol. 3, ill. p. 328. Note also that Szabo took the second figure from the left to be a man, but the headgear sitting high on the head, the hairstyle with its central part, and the V-necked garment were all worn by women; this figure could easily be, say, a worldly Magdalene standing among the mourners in a *Crucifixion*.
6. For a summary of the entire complex problem, see Paolini 1980.
7. Louvre, RF39028; Bacou in Paris 1984, no. 1.
8. In 1922 Glück attributed the silverprint *Christ on the Cross* in the Städelches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main, to Antonello, but his suggestion has not been accepted. A sheet of sketches of scenes and figures in the British Museum, London (1929.1.3.1), has in the past often been ascribed authori-



Fig. 65.2 Antonello da Messina, *Figures in a Piazza*. Musée du Louvre, Paris. Photograph: Réunion des Musées Nationaux

tatively to Antonello, but the more recent attribution to a follower is preferable (see London–Nottingham 1983, no. 23). Longhi (1953) ascribed the *Studies for a Flagellation* (recto) and *Saint Sebastian* (verso) in the Albertina, Vienna (15; considered a study for the *Saint Sebastian* in Dresden), to Antonello, but Stix and Fröhlich-Bum (1926, no. 31) catalogued it as Previtali's, and Degenhart and Schmitt (1968, p. 497) ascribed it to a follower of Gozzoli. I have serious doubts about both these sheets, neither of which is drawn with the finesse and assured handling of structural organization found in the Louvre sheet and neither of which is comparable with either the Louvre drawing or ours. The London and Vienna drawings are also reproduced in Sciascia and Mandel 1967, appendix 1, p. 104.

9. Sciascia and Mandel 1967, no. 71, pls. 59–62.

PROVENANCE: Not established. Acquired by Robert Lehman in Paris in the 1920s.

EXHIBITED: Buffalo 1935, no. 11, ill.; Oberlin 1942–44; Paris 1957, no. 85, pl. 47; Cincinnati 1959, no. 236; New York 1978, no. 16, ill.; Messina 1981–82, pp. 35, 81, 189, no. 43, ill.

LITERATURE: Frankfurter 1939, pp. 182–83, fig. 18; Longhi 1953, pp. 27–28, 30, fig. 27; Bottari (1958) 1968, col. 503; Causa 1963, fig. 4; Murray 1967, fig. 3; Sciascia and Mandel 1967, pp. 88, 104, ill.; Raggianti Collobi 1974, p. 58; Bologna 1977, p. 90; Szabo 1983, no. 10, ill.; Bacou in Paris 1984, under no. 1; Sricchia Santoro 1986, p. 98, no. 15a, fig. 47.

Piero della Francesca

Borgo San Sepolcro (Arezzo) 1415/20–Borgo San Sepolcro 1492

Piero della Francesca is first recorded in Florence in 1439, working alongside Domenico Veneziano on the (now-lost) frescoes in Sant'Egidio. But even before that he must have been acquainted with the new Florentine art and Leon Battista Alberti's theories of proportion and perspective. By the 1440s he had returned to Borgo San Sepolcro and was putting those innovative principles to use in a highly personal manner in works like the limpid *Baptism of Christ* (National Gallery, London) and the complex polyptych *The Madonna della Misericordia* (Pinacoteca Comunale, Borgo San Sepolcro). In 1451 Piero painted the consummately noble and stately likeness of Sigismondo Malatesta in Alberti's Tempio Malatestiano in Rimini, and the following year he began the frescoes depicting the story of the True Cross in the choir of San Francesco, Arezzo, which he would not complete until about 1460. The San Francesco cycle, which depends on a perfect accord between proportions, light, and color in the figures and the spatial construction of architecture and landscape, remains unsurpassed as a model of solemn

narrative reduced to its prime essentials. Although his other celebrated frescoes in Ferrara and Rome have not survived, Piero's intense productivity is documented by the works he executed for the cultured court of the Montefeltro, lords of Urbino, among them the portraits of Federico da Montefeltro and his wife, Baptista Sforza (Uffizi, Florence), and the astounding *Virgin and Child with Saints and Angels* (Brera, Milan).

The *Virgin and Child* in the Brera, along with the *Nativity* in the National Gallery, London, testifies to Piero's encounter with Flemish painting of the time and helps to illustrate how his style continued to develop while remaining absolutely consistent. Because his erudition dictated that problems of proportion and perspective be meditated upon rather than worked out through trial and error with drawings, the only examples of Piero's graphic art that have survived (and perhaps the only ones he ever produced) are the geometric illustrations in his theoretical treatises.

Follower of Piero della Francesca

66. A Man Seated on a Throne

1975.I.397

Pen and brown ink, brush and brown ink, brown wash, heightened with white (partly oxidized), over traces of black chalk. 193 x 120 mm. Laid down. Probably retouched by a later hand in black chalk(?) in the eyes, nose, and ear and below the mouth. Annotated in pen and brown ink in a seventeenth-century hand at the upper left (partially rubbed away): *Raffello da Urbino*; at the lower right: *Rymsdyk's / Museum* (crossed out).

This sheet has an illustrious pedigree documented by the collector's mark of P. H. Lankrink of London, and it carries decidedly ambitious attributions to Raphael and to Piero della Francesca. Its quality, however, is not in keeping with those attributions.

Nothing in the drawing supports the connection with Raphael, or even his circle, proposed by the seventeenth-century annotation on the recto. The very rare and prestigious attribution to Piero della Francesca was first applied to the sheet in the early 1900s, and it appeared under that name at the Ederheimer–Fairfax Murray sale

in 1924 on the authority of an unnamed Florentine collector (perhaps Charles Loeser?) and Filippo Di Pietro, then entrusted with the study of certain aspects of drawings at the Uffizi. In a handwritten note dated 1929 on the back of the photograph of this sheet in the library at the Harvard Center for Renaissance Studies at Villa I Tatti, Florence, Berenson seemed cautious about the attribution to Piero della Francesca and called the ascription to Raphael "very significant." He was still cautious about this being Piero's hand when he corresponded with Robert Lehman about the drawing in 1932 and 1937, when he had still seen only a photograph of it.¹ In 1961, however, he said the sheet was in all probability a rapid sketch by Piero for the Saint Sigismund in the fresco *Sigismondo Malatesta Kneeling Before His Patron Saint* in the Tempio Malatestiano, Rimini (Fig. 66.1).² The fresco is signed and dated 1451.

Berenson also ascribed to Piero the *Seated Male Nude*



No. 66



Fig. 66.1 Piero della Francesca, *Sigismondo Malatesta Kneeling Before His Patron Saint*. Cappella delle Reliquie, Tempio Malatestiano, Rimini. Photograph: Musei Comunali, Rimini

with a Hat in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, but though the pose in that drawing is somewhat similar to our figure's, it is unquestionably by a later and more skillful hand.³ Degenhart and Schmitt drew a more appropriate parallel in 1968 when they discussed our drawing in connection with the *Two Men Seated in Dante Chairs* in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts.⁴ But their attribution of both sheets to an anonymous Lombard of about 1500 is difficult to support. Their hypothesis was perhaps suggested by Mongan and Sachs's idea that the Fogg drawing, along with our sheet and another, with two figures, in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, may have been preparatory to a frieze or decorative scheme with portraits of important personages, like the one Bramante executed on the facade of the Palazzo del Podestà in Bergamo. The figures in the Fogg drawing would fit nicely into a decorative series, as would ours, being much like the one on the left on that sheet, but the cultural affinities of these drawings are fundamentally Tuscan, and not at all Bramantesque.

When Szabo exhibited the Lehman sheet in New York in 1978 he returned to the ascription to Piero. His brief entry mentioned only that the style of the drawing and the pose are reminiscent of fifteenth-century playing cards, or *tarocchi*. Various figures of the so-called *Tarocchi Cards of Mantegna*, now attributed to the Ferrarese school of the 1460s or 1470s, may derive from the pose of Saint Sigismund in Piero's fresco in Rimini.⁵ But the character of our drawing, tinted in a painterly manner rather than linear, rules out any possible relation to the *Tarocchi*, or to anything engraved.

Our drawing does indeed have something in common with the figure of Saint Sigismund in the Rimini fresco, but any reference to Piero based on more than the general type of the figure in the drawing, which is not mentioned in any of the monographs on him, seems untenable. And neither is there any reason to think of Piero's most direct follower, Lorentino of Arezzo, by whom no drawings are known. Although the deteriorated condition of the drawing makes characterizing its authorship difficult, it would seem to have been done well into the second half of the fifteenth century by an artist who followed in Piero's footsteps but lacked his skill, particularly in conveying a sense of space and defining form.

NOTES:

1. Letters from Berenson to Robert Lehman, March 24, 1932, and February 16, 1937 (Robert Lehman Collection files). Berenson also mentioned Piero's name in a letter of 1956 (Berenson files, Villa I Tatti, Florence).
2. Berenson 1961, no. 1863F, fig. 86. In his 1964 review of Berenson's new edition, Pouncey cited the new attribution for the drawing without comment, which seems rather significant.
3. Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, I.280; Berenson 1961, no. 1863H, fig. 87.
4. Fogg Art Museum, Charles A. Loeser Bequest, 1932.130; Mongan and Sachs 1940, no. 20, fig. 15 (as Italian, fifteenth century); Degenhart and Schmitt 1968, n. 12 under no. 514.
5. Bartsch XIII.132ff.; Hind 1938–48, vol. 1, E.I. See Washington, D.C. 1973, pp. 81–99.

PROVENANCE: Prosper Henry Lankrink, London (Lugt 2090); J. van Rijmsdijk, England (Lugt 2167); unidentified collector (Lugt and Lugt Suppl. 474 [pseudo-Crozat]); Charles Fairfax Murray, London; Ederheimer–Fairfax Murray sale 1924, no. 232, ill. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1924.

EXHIBITED: Oberlin 1942–44; New York 1978, no. 22, ill.

LITERATURE: Mongan and Sachs 1940, under no. 20; Berenson 1961, no. 1863F, fig. 85; Pouncey 1964, p. 289; Degenhart and Schmitt 1968, n. 12 under no. 514; Szabo 1983, p. 61, fig. 42.

Central Italy

Ca. 1470

67. Saint Francis Before the Bishop

1975.I.318

Pen and light and dark brown ink, brown wash, over traces of black chalk. 245 x 183 mm. Various small holes patched from behind; green stain in archway.

Despite the well-characterized figures and setting, this intriguing drawing remains extremely difficult to attribute. It offers no clues as to the specific personality of its author, nor is there a homogeneous group of similar sheets with which it might be compared. The somewhat hard, stiff quality of the drawing contributes to the difficulty, which is confirmed in any case by the diverse opinions of the few scholars who have so far concerned themselves with it.

In the catalogue of the Grassi sale of 1924 the sheet was attributed to Francesco del Cossa. Berenson, who had several photographs of it, classified it in 1961 as "school of Baldovinetti, probably by a follower of Baldovinetti, influenced by Cossa." Szabo published the drawing just once, in the catalogue of the New York exhibition of 1978, as possibly a copy after a work by Cossa or one of his assistants. It does not appear to have been included in studies on either Cossa or Baldovinetti.

This is an unusual interpretation of the story of Francis denouncing his wealth by disrobing before the bishop, a scene that, following Giotto's canonic example, is usually set out of doors, with the houses of Assisi forming a backdrop, as in Benozzo Gozzoli's fresco cycle of 1452 in Montefalco. And the basic simplicity of this rather strange interior and the somewhat ambitious attempt at a perspective typical of Renaissance Florence are not matched by the architectural logic, which has the archway at the rear giving only onto a sort of closed box.

Its stylistic and formal ambiguity also makes the drawing unique. The costumes are in some ways characteristically Tuscan, and the outlining in pen and ink accented with touches of wash recalls the sheets in the so-called Pollaiuolo–Maso Finiguerra group¹ and the life studies in the Uffizi, Florence,² and the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm,³ that Berenson attributed to Baldovinetti or his school. The figures here, however, are squatter and heavier, and, for all the enormous difference in quality, in type and size they are reminiscent of Filippo Lippi's famous drawing (Fig. 67.1), datable to the early 1460s, for his fresco *Saint Stephen Exorcising a Demon* in the ca-

thedral of Prato.⁴ Yet the Tuscan elements are contradicted by the almost caricatural accentuation of the facial features and the anatomical uncertainties that bespeak a hand obviously not accustomed to what had become routine for Tuscan draftsmen. Quite certainly this artist was concerned more with the expressive rendering of sentiment than with precise formal definition. Nonetheless, the harsh, almost convulsive manner of even the most marginal products of the Tura–Cossa–Ercole de' Roberti circle is not at all in evidence here. And the only Ferrarese



Fig. 67.1 Filippo Lippi, *Saint Stephen Exorcising a Demon*. Hamburger Kunsthalle, Hamburg



drawings that can be cited in relation to ours – notably the *Man Taken Prisoner by Two Soldiers*, with its Mantegnesque motifs, and the *Crowning of a General*, which seems to be of later date – serve if anything to demonstrate that difference.⁵ Nor does the general disposition of the scene display the vivid cadence of Ferrarese compositions; the more popular, narrative approach suggests instead a less refined, more provincial ambience, such as Romagna or the Marches.

Berenson's compromise solution can therefore be inverted, and we can suggest that the author of this drawing may have been a non-Tuscan artist of about 1470 who was influenced by the Florentines. It would seem reasonable to suppose that this is a study for a predella compartment or, more plausibly, a section of a fresco cycle.

NOTES:

1. For a discussion of the "Maso Finiguerra group," see Degenhart and Schmitt 1968, no. 620, and Florence 1986a, nos. 57–154. Among the sheets in the group, see in particular four in the Uffizi (52F, 54F, 8S, 51S; Degenhart and Schmitt 1968, figs. 892, 893, 917, 945 under no. 620; Florence 1986a,

- nos. 80, 81, 85, 61, figs. 83, 86, 89, 148, 102) and two in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts (1954.9.1, 2; Degenhart and Schmitt 1968, figs. 958, 959 under no. 620), as well as the *Standing Young Man* (recto, with a seated man on the verso) and the *Seated Young Man* (recto and verso) in the Uffizi (118F, 120F; *ibid.*, nos. 348, 349, pl. 298a–d).
2. Uffizi, 68E, *Two Figures* (recto and verso); Berenson 1961, no. 197 (as school of Baldovinetti); Degenhart and Schmitt 1968, no. 365, pl. 306a, b; Florence 1986a, no. 155.
3. Nationalmuseum, 113–14; *Two Figures* (with a fragment of a figure study on the verso); Berenson 1961, no. 196C, D (as Baldovinetti); Degenhart and Schmitt 1968, no. 366, pl. 306c, d.
4. Hamburger Kunsthalle, 21239; Degenhart and Schmitt 1968, no. 358, pl. 302a.
5. British Museum, London, 1852.4.24.96, 1913.10.15.91; Popham and Pouncey 1950, nos. 309, 287, pls. 252, 274 (as Paduan, third quarter fifteenth century, and Bolognese[?], about 1500, respectively).

PROVENANCE: Luigi Grassi, Florence (Lugt Suppl. 1171b); Frits Lugt, Paris; Grassi sale 1924, lot 68. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1924.

EXHIBITED: Oberlin 1942–44; New York 1978, no. 18, ill.

LITERATURE: Berenson 1961, no. 203D-1.

Alesso Baldovinetti

Florence 1425–Florence 1499

Nothing is known of Baldovinetti's training, but his style was in all probability affected by his work in about 1448 on the painted panels for the silver cabinet in Santissima Annunziata in Florence (now in the Museo di San Marco), a series that Fra Angelico and his assistants had begun. The balanced perspective and luminosity of his more mature works – the now-deteriorated fresco *The Nativity* of 1461–62 in the small cloister of Santissima Annunziata; the *Madonna and Child* of 1464 in the Louvre, Paris; the Chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal in San Miniato al Monte, which he decorated with Piero and Antonio Pollaiuolo; and the altarpiece for Santa Trinita, the *Trinity* now in the Accademia, Florence – strike one as reflections of the calm monumentality of Domenico Veneziano's works and of Piero della Francesca's penchant for sun-drenched open spaces.

Baldovinetti's lifelong collaboration with artisans in the creation of stained-glass windows, intarsias, and mosaics was as important a part of his career as his work as a painter. No trace remains, however, of his drawings for those designs. The few other graphic works that can be attributed to him have been much discussed.

*Alesso Baldovinetti(?)***68. A Seated Saint Reading from a Book**

1975.I.409

Brush and brown ink, brown wash, heightened with white (partly oxidized); horizontal lines in black chalk(?). Pricked for transfer. Outlines reinforced in places in brown ink, perhaps in the fifteenth or early sixteenth century. 261 x 162 mm. Laid down. Horizontal crease through the middle; trimmed and rounded off at the top; loss at lower left corner.

The number of important artists, most of them either unknown or little known as draftsmen, that the experts have proposed as the author of this drawing is evidence not only of its indubitable interest but also of how difficult it is to assess. The only point on which the various scholars who have studied it appear to have agreed is that it was probably done in preparation for a work of applied art. The small size, the technique of pen and brush with wash, the way the planes and outlines are limited to essentials, and the precise pricking for transfer are all characteristic of cartoons for embroidery, of which various examples survive from fifteenth-century Tuscany (see No. 83).

The first artist to be connected with our drawing was no one less than Piero della Francesca, to whom Metz attributed it when he engraved it for his *Imitations of Ancient and Modern Drawings* of 1798 (Fig. 68.1).¹ The sheet seems not to have been cited again until 1930, when Henry Oppenheimer lent it to the Royal Academy of Arts in London for the Italian drawings exhibition at Burlington House. At the exhibition and in the catalogue published the next year, Popham labeled the drawing "attributed to Antonio Pollaiuolo." When Sir Kenneth Clark discussed it in his review of the exhibition in the March 1930 issue of the *Burlington Magazine*, however, he concluded that "some faint drawing by a great painter, perhaps Castagno, has been ruined, but preserved, by a conscientious pupil." And in 1935 Byam Shaw attributed both this sheet and the *Saint Christopher* in the Louvre, Paris, to Francesco Botticini, though the two drawings, as Byam Shaw himself allowed, are in fact stylistically quite different from each other.² In 1936 K. T. Parker repeated Byam Shaw's attribution in the catalogue of the Oppenheimer sale, where Robert Lehman acquired the drawing. But in 1938 Berenson claimed it for the school of Andrea del Castagno, noting that Clark had ascribed it to Castagno and "but for the quality it might be by him." "Perhaps it is the pricking that suggests drawings for embroideries," Berenson added, "and inclines me to wonder whether it is not rather a copy and a faithful one, after Castagno by Raffaele dei Carli [Raffaellino del Garbo]." That same year, Kennedy argued that beyond certain Castagnesque traits there is nothing in the drawing of either Pollaiuolo or Castagno and that the artist it does recall is Alesso Baldovinetti.

Nonetheless, by the time the sheet was exhibited in New York in 1965–66 Popham's attribution to Pollaiuolo had become traditional, having been used in the catalogues of the exhibitions of 1941, 1959, and 1960. Szabo showed the sheet as by Pollaiuolo again in 1977 and 1978, and in 1983 he suggested that both Antonio and his brother Piero may have had a hand in the drawing, which he noted (quoting Kennedy) is about the same size as the seated figures of saints on the narrow band of embroidery at the top of the paliotto of Sixtus IV now in the Basilica of San Francesco, Assisi.³

None of the monographs on Pollaiuolo have included this drawing, however, and though Bean and Stampfle listed it under his name in the catalogue of the 1965–66



No. 68



Fig. 68.1 Conrad Martin Metz, after Alesso Baldovinetti(?), *A Seated Saint Reading from a Book*



Fig. 68.2 Alesso Baldovinetti, *A Prophet*. Chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal, church of San Miniato, Florence. Photograph: Alinari/Art Resource

New York exhibition, in their entry they reviewed the critical history and gave particular weight to Berenson's suggestion of 1938, which he had repeated in 1961. "A number of significant resemblances with other drawings by Raffaellino del Garbo," they concluded, "suggest that the drawing may eventually rest with this artist's invention." In 1968 Degenhart and Schmitt went only so far as to consider the sheet a product of the Pollaiuolo school, and in 1975 Fahy also tended to think of Raffaellino.⁴

The drawing would have yet another attribution if it could in fact be identified, as Ragghianti Collobi has proposed, with the *Saint Jerome* from the hand of Lorenzo Costa that Vasari said he had in his book of drawings. But there is nothing about this figure that suggests either Saint Jerome or the hand of Costa, and neither does the sheet bear any marks that might indicate that it was once part of Vasari's album.

Of all the artists mentioned in connection with our sheet only Pollaiuolo and Raffaellino del Garbo have secure corpora of drawings with which it might be com-

pared. The attribution to Raffaellino must have stemmed solely from the fact that this is probably a cartoon for embroidery, for the hypothesis fails as soon as our study is compared with Raffaellino's assured drawings (see No. 83). There is no hint here of the influence of Botticelli and Filippo and Filippino Lippi that characterizes Raffaellino's work. Instead, the archaism in the general disposition and structure might be said to lend support to Metz's early ascription to Piero della Francesca and the later proposal of Andrea del Castagno. That the drawing was probably destined to be executed in embroidery might also justify the recurrent attribution to Pollaiuolo, who is well known to have supplied designs to needleworkers. The bold, incisive line; the broad, clearly defined planes; and certain morphological motifs in the hands, face, and hair might also bring Pollaiuolo to mind, but the relatively old-fashioned character of the overall disposition, notably in the rigid torso and the deep, compact drapery folds that cover the arms, sets this figure well apart from Pollaiuolo's usually more mobile and

impulsive studies. Furthermore, as Clark noted in 1930, "if there is one characteristic common to all Antonio Pollajuolo's work in every material, it is the extraordinary manner in which he articulates the hands, and, indeed, all jointed members. . . . Now, the hands of our seated saint are treated very much as a whole, the movement of the fingers being subservient to that of the palm." Clark went on to exclude Antonio's brother Piero, "the surprising proportions of whose figures are unmistakable," as the drawing's author as well, and finally suggested that "perhaps the artist whose type it most clearly recalls is Andrea del Castagno [although] there are strong reasons why the drawing should not be by him."

In the course of his argument Clark also remarked that this drawing "has not the dainty line of Baldovinetti," somewhat hastily brushing aside the very attribution that, to my mind, seems most probable. Only Kennedy intuited here the hand of Baldovinetti, comparing our figure with the prophets he painted in 1466–67 in the Chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal in San Miniato in Florence (Fig. 68.2). "The bunch of drapery at the right," she said, "the gathering of folds at the waist, the big toe

shorter than its neighbor, the short hands, one with the little finger crooked, the other twisted like a prophet's hand holding a scroll, and the other Morellian minutiae all have their parallel in the Portuguese chapel." Even the uncertainty over whether the halo should be flat or foreshortened is typical of Baldovinetti, who used both conventions, sometimes in the same work.

Indeed, our sheet might justifiably be considered the "pilot" drawing in an effort to define the graphic style of an artist whose catalogue of drawings is far too sparse and controversial. Berenson ascribed to either Baldovinetti or his school a group of some thirty drawings that vary greatly in origin, medium, and subject matter.⁵ But most of those drawings, as Degenhart and Schmitt have pointed out, are studies from models that bear no particular relation to Baldovinetti's known work.⁶ Degenhart and Schmitt catalogued just four sheets (all in the Uffizi, Florence) under Baldovinetti's own name, none of which figure in Berenson's group.⁷ But those, too, are open to discussion, with the possible exception of the *Pietà with Nicodemus, Mary, and John* (Fig. 68.3), which is quite different from the other sheets in both groups and of all



Fig. 68.3 Alesso Baldovinetti(?), *Pietà with Nicodemus, Mary, and John*. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence. Photograph: Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici, Florence



Fig. 68.4 School of Pollaiuolo, *Head of a Bearded Man*. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence. Photograph: Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici, Florence



Fig. 68.5 *An Evangelist*, detail of embroidered paliotto. Museo degli Argenti, Florence. Photograph: Annarosa Garzelli, *Il ricamo nella attività artistica di Pollaiuolo, Botticelli, Bartolomeo di Giovanni* (Florence: Edam, 1973), fig. 17

of them the closest to Baldovinetti's paintings. The sheet with the Pietà and other figures is not too remote from our drawing in style, but it is more decorative and less constructed.⁸ The stylistic differences between the two might be merely a matter of chronology, however, if, as Degenhart and Schmitt believe, the Uffizi drawing was done about 1450 and ours in the late 1460s, when Baldovinetti was working alongside the Pollaiuolo brothers in the Chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal. Hartt, Corti, and Kennedy said of the prophets Baldovinetti painted in the lunettes in the Portuguese chapel (see Fig. 68.2) that their "slightly parted [eyelids] disclose nothing but darkness, which imparts to the faces an uncommunicative and masklike quality."⁹ That description is equally applicable to an interesting drawing in the Uffizi, a *Head of a Bearded Man* (Fig. 68.4) that is strikingly akin to our saint and has also been attributed to the school of Pollaiuolo.¹⁰

Moreover, the idea of an affinity between Pollaiuolo and Baldovinetti, which would explain the repeated at-

tribution of our drawing to Pollaiuolo, is further supported by the fact that both often worked with artisans. Baldovinetti is known to have supplied cartoons for stained glass, mosaics, and wooden inlays, and the intarsia work Giuliano da Maiano executed in 1463–65 after Baldovinetti's designs for the Sacristy of the Mass in Florence Cathedral, in particular, exhibits a decided echo of Pollaiuolo.¹¹ If our drawing is indeed what it appears to be – and certainly the schematic planes of this figure, for all their variety, are typical of a design meant to be transferred to a medium other than paint – it could be evidence of Baldovinetti's as yet undocumented activity as a designer of embroideries.

Our saint can be compared not only with those embroidered on the paliotto of Sixtus IV in Assisi but also with the figures on the chasuble in the collegiate church of San Martino at Pietrasanta and the paliotto in the Museo degli Argenti in Florence (Fig. 68.5). Botticelli and Raffaellino del Garbo have been proposed as possible authors of the cartoons for the chasuble in San Martino.¹² Garzelli attributed the cartoons for the similar paliotto in the Museo degli Argenti, Florence,¹³ to the Pollaiuolo workshop and Botticini, to whom Byam Shaw ascribed our drawing in 1935. Botticini can be ruled out, however, because despite the figure's analogous pose the only drawing that can be securely attributed to him (or his son Raffaello),¹⁴ the *Christ Blessing* in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm,¹⁵ that is a study for the *Palmieri Coronation of the Virgin* (National Gallery, London), is stylistically very different from ours. The *Christ Blessing* also lacks the underlying affinity to Castagno that is persistent in Baldovinetti's work and has been authoritatively, and correctly, stressed in connection with our drawing.

NOTES:

1. Metz's engraving is the same size as our drawing and varies from it only in that a slight cast shadow has been added under the left arm. The *Apud. C. M.* below Piero della Francesca's name on the engraving also appears on many other engravings in the volume and probably indicates that the drawing belonged to Metz's personal collection. Metz's reference to "Padre Resta, whose testimony is on the back of the drawing," in the short biography of Piero della Francesca that accompanies the engraving may mean that Resta once owned the sheet. He may have acquired it from Lanier, whose star-shaped mark appears at the bottom right. The Lanier mark (Lugt 2885) is often confused with Resta's (Lugt Suppl. 2886b).
2. Louvre, 2695; Byam Shaw 1935, pl. 62. The drawing, which in 1968 the Louvre was calling Florentine, from the fifteenth century, is from the collection of Filippo Baldinucci, who

attributed it to Buonamico Buffalmacco (see Degenhart and Schmitt 1968, p. 647, no. 9).

3. Szabo 1983, no. 13, quoting Kennedy 1938, n. 326, p. 228. For a discussion of the paliotto, which is datable before 1473, see also Garzelli 1973, pp. 17–21.
4. Letter from Fahy, then director of the Frick Collection, New York, to Szabo, August 21, 1975 (Robert Lehman Collection files). Fahy had seen only a photograph of the drawing.
5. Berenson 1961, nos. 190–203.
6. Degenhart and Schmitt 1968, under no. 367.
7. Uffizi, 252E, 251E, 253E, 151E; *ibid.*, nos. 500–503, pls. 353a–c, 354a. See also Florence 1978, p. xxvii, and Florence 1986a, no. 152, p. 79. Of the four only Uffizi 151E, a *Head of a Warrior*, bears an early ascription to Baldovinetti, and though it exhibits many signs of his style, it has the hardness of a copy and is so complex stylistically that it has even been referred to the Ferrarese school (see Meller 1974, p. 261).
8. Uffizi, 252E; Berenson 1961, no. 660A (as school of Andrea del Castagno); Degenhart and Schmitt 1968, no. 500 (as Baldovinetti, based on its stylistic correspondence with his paintings of the 1450s); Petrioli Tofani 1986, p. 111, no. 252E (as Francesco Pesellino? [after Andrea del Castagno]).
9. Hartt, Corti, and Kennedy 1964, p. 112.
10. Uffizi, 58s; Berenson 1961, no. 1943 (as school of Pollaiuolo, influenced by Andrea del Castagno).
11. See Haines 1983, p. 142.
12. See Garzelli 1973, p. 23, and Lucca 1957, no. 77.
13. Museo degli Argenti, GA 1054; Garzelli 1973, pp. 17–21.
14. See Pouncey 1964, p. 284.
15. Nationalmuseum, 93; Berenson 1961, no. 591C.

PROVENANCE: Nicholas Lanier, London (Lugt 2885); Padre Sebastiano Resta, Rome(?); Conrad Martin Metz, London; Henry Oppenheimer, London; Oppenheimer sale 1936, lot 38. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1936.

EXHIBITED: London 1930, no. 35, pl. 30a; Northampton (Mass.) 1941, no. 13; Northampton (Mass.) 1942–44; Cincinnati 1959, no. 202, ill.; New Haven 1960, no. 154; New York 1965–66, no. 7, ill.; Tokyo 1977, no. 1, ill.; New York 1978, no. 20, ill.

LITERATURE: Metz 1798, no. 7; Clark 1930, p. 176, pl. 2B; Byam Shaw 1935, p. 59, n. 1; Berenson 1938, no. 669B, fig. 70; Kennedy 1938, pp. 151–52, fig. 130; Berenson 1961, no. 669B; Degenhart and Schmitt 1968, n. 1 under no. 503; Ragghianti Collobi 1974, p. 69; Szabo 1983, no. 13, ill.

Antonio Pollaiuolo

(Antonio Benci)

Florence 1431/32–Rome 1498

Although he was trained as a goldsmith and worked with artists like Maso Finiguerra (a figure we still know only through the effect he had on others), it was the art of Donatello and the problems it gave rise to that soon attracted Antonio Pollaiuolo's interest and gave structure and stimulus to his own explorations and formal discoveries.

Antonio headed one of the most successful workshops in Florence in the second half of the fifteenth century. Among the sculptural works he executed are the silver crucifix in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence; the small bronze *Hercules and Antaeus* in the Bargello, Florence; and the tombs of popes Sixtus IV and Innocent VIII in the Vatican Grottoes and Saint Peter's. Antonio is credited with several paintings, most notably the *Labors of Hercules* in the Uffizi, Florence; the *Apollo and Daphne* and *Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian* in the National Gallery, London; the *Abduction of Deianeira* in the Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven; and the *Portrait of a Lady* in the Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan.

Antonio was also an engraver; his famous *Battle of the Nudes* is one of the many complex allegories of the Florentine Neoplatonic world of ideas. A few drawings with his characteristic expressive use of line have survived, and a rich series of studies from life in pure line drawing has been linked to the Pollaiuolo workshop and that of Maso Finiguerra.

Antonio Pollaiuolo

69. Study for an Equestrian Monument

1975.I.410

Pen and brown ink, light and dark brown wash. Outlines of the horse and rider pricked for transfer. 281 x 254 mm. Laid down. Various abrasions and losses; margins irregular; trimmed. Annotated in pen and brown ink at the right in a sixteenth-century hand: *GATAMEL*. Annotated in pencil on the backing in two different modern hands: *Di Donatello?* and *Cadre a fin lavés sepia ouverture à la forme*.

The provenance of this drawing, one of the most important and celebrated in the Robert Lehman Collection, can be traced back to the sixteenth century, when it was part of Vasari's *Libro de' disegni*. After Pollaiuolo's death, Vasari reported in his *Lives*, "there was discovered the drawing and model he had made for Ludovico Sforza

for an equestrian statue of Francesco Sforza, duke of Milan, and that drawing is in our book in two versions: in one he has Verona beneath him, in the other he is in full armor and, above a base full of battle scenes, he makes his horse rear up over an armed man."¹

The whereabouts of our drawing, the first version, were unknown for nearly four centuries. In 1929 Van Marle discussed the second version (Fig. 69.1), which was then and is still in the Graphische Sammlung, Munich,² but could only refer to Vasari's mention of our variant. Not until 1934 did Meller discover this drawing and identify it as the companion to the sheet in Munich.³ When López-Rey and Kurz confirmed Meller's findings a few years later they laid to rest any remaining doubt as to the identification of the two *modelli* Vasari had cited.

The drawings' poor state of preservation is further evidence of their joint provenance. As Degenhart and Schmitt and Ragghianti Collobi have noted, both sheets were severely altered when Vasari mounted and framed them to insert them in his *Libro*, and it was probably Vasari himself who applied the dark wash to the background, leaving a light margin on our drawing to make it appear to be the same size as its pendant, which is now, and was perhaps already then, smaller. Both drawings also endured further mishandling by other collectors. Someone has cut off the base that Vasari described



Fig. 69.1 Antonio Pollaiuolo, *Study for an Equestrian Monument*. Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich



Fig. 69.2 Leonardo da Vinci, *Study for an Equestrian Monument*. Windsor Castle, Royal Library, copyright 1990 Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II

on the Munich drawing, leaving only the fallen warrior's left leg, and our sheet likewise appears to have been trimmed on the left and perhaps also at the top.⁴ Small cartoons like these often suffer a similar fate. Produced not only to present designs to patrons but also to be used as working tools in the studio and therefore executed with great care, they have been much sought after by collectors, who have then proceeded to ill-treat them in the interest of "preserving" them or showing them off more effectively. Paolo Uccello's *modello* for the trompe-l'oeil wall painting of Sir John Hawkwood in the cathedral of Florence, an obvious precedent for Pollaiuolo's two drawings, is also in very poor condition and has been cut down and tampered with several times.⁵

Whether the two drawings were indeed studies for the never-realized Sforza monument, as Vasari said they were, remains a question. Galeazzo Maria Sforza, duke of Milan, first had the idea of erecting a life-size bronze equestrian monument to honor his father, Francesco, in 1472, and designs were submitted by an unidentified Milanese sculptor and by the Mantegazza brothers, who were accustomed to working in marble. The project was aborted when Galeazzo Maria was assassinated in 1476, but his brother Ludovico il Moro took it up again after he returned from exile to assume control in Milan in 1480. In a famous letter of 1482 or 1483 Leonardo da Vinci included the bronze horse in a list of projects he would be prepared to undertake for Ludovico. As his drawings attest, Leonardo worked at his design for the monument for nearly ten years, from 1484 to 1493, changing his concept several times.⁶ His initial idea, for a rider



No. 69

on a rampant steed in the act of crushing a fallen enemy (Fig. 69.2), would have been extremely difficult to execute, and in fact in July 1489 Ludovico appealed to Lorenzo de' Medici via the Florentine envoy in Milan to send him "a master or two capable of such work." Ludovico was probably asking for masters in the art of casting, not sculptors to propose alternate designs. We do not know whether Lorenzo ever complied with the request, but we do know that by 1490 Leonardo was back at work on the project, though he had modified his original concept to a more traditional, more solemn composition with a rider in a commanding pose astride a pacing horse that would have been easier to realize in bronze. The projected size of the monument still presented problems, however; Leonardo's clay model, completed in 1491, measured some twenty-one feet from the ground to the nape of the horse's neck, an unprecedented size for a permanent statue in Renaissance Italy. No bronze was ever cast, and the colossal model was destroyed when the French occupied Milan in 1499.⁷

No documents have come to light regarding Pollaiuolo's role in all this, so it is difficult to assign a date to his two drawings, or even to be sure that there is any truth in what Vasari said about them. Several scholars have tended to agree with Vasari that ours is the earlier of the two versions because the horse and rider, which differ only slightly from those in the Munich drawing, were pricked for transfer and the fallen figure on the base, which underwent extensive alteration, was not. Vasari called the prostrate figure "Verona," but Francesco Sforza also conquered many other localities, and it is more probable that this is simply a generalized allegorical representation of a defeated enemy, transformed in the second version into an armored warrior perhaps to signify a more arduous victory. The head of the vanquished figure in our version appears to have been inspired by an antique head of Medusa that was much admired in Florence starting in the late 1400s,⁸ and the pose of the body combines elements of the two soldiers sprawled at the base of the sarcophagus in Verrocchio's polychrome terracotta altarpiece *The Resurrection* (Bargello, Florence), which has been assigned various dates between 1465 and 1480.

On the basis of Vasari's statement and the documented information on Leonardo's part in the project, it has been thought that Pollaiuolo's two small cartoons can be dated sometime between 1480, when Ludovico returned to Milan, and 1489, when he asked for master founders from Florence. Several scholars have dated Pollaiuolo's studies to about 1482–83, which would mean that they could have been of some inspiration to Leonardo.⁹ Re-

cently, however, Vertova has suggested that the drawings were done about 1489, and if that is so, it might have been Pollaiuolo who was inspired by Leonardo's initial ideas. No definitive answer is possible. Nor is it necessary to establish a relationship between the two artists. Both had access to such sources as antique bas-reliefs, Paolo Uccello's battle paintings and his *Monument to Sir John Hawkwood*, Andrea del Castagno's fresco *Niccolò da Tolentino*, and, especially, Donatello's and Verrocchio's equestrian monuments. And both had already experimented with depicting horses and riders in movement, Leonardo in the background of his *Adoration of the Magi* of 1481–82 for San Donato a Scopeto (now in the Uffizi, Florence), Pollaiuolo in the illusionistic bas-reliefs on the arch at the left in the *Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian* he painted in 1475 for Santissima Annunziata in Florence (now in the National Gallery, London).

The question of reciprocity between Leonardo and Pollaiuolo is interwoven with that of whether Pollaiuolo's two designs were in fact intended for the Sforza monument. Vertova has recently reiterated the doubts Brugnoli first expressed in 1954 about Vasari's account. She concedes that the horseman depicted here and in the Munich sheet is certainly Francesco Sforza. But she argues that the conception is too linear (although the linearity has admittedly been exaggerated by the later darkening of the ground) for a three-dimensional sculpture and would seem more suited to a bas-relief on a medal or plaque, if not an engraving, or perhaps two engravings depicting different moments in Sforza's life that may have been conceived to illustrate a biography.

To be sure, the lack of corroborating evidence and Pollaiuolo's limited experience with monumental sculpture, which would have made him an unlikely candidate for this particular commission, are serious grounds for questioning the veracity of Vasari's account. Yet it is hard to explain why Pollaiuolo would have executed two such fully finished *modelli* if they were not intended for an undertaking far more important than a plaque or a book illustration (and that two such similar drawings, obviously alternative ideas for the same subject, would both have been used in the same biography seems improbable). Furthermore, the attempt to define supports for the horse and rider, obviously of fundamental concern to the artist, would have been pointless if these were studies for a small-scale two-dimensional bas-relief or even a trompe-l'oeil painting like the *Monument to Sir John Hawkwood* or the *Niccolò da Tolentino*. The most significant formal difference between the two studies is

in fact a matter of balance and support. In the Munich group the horse was made slightly less rampant and contracted so that the figure on the ground could prop it up without the aid of strips of drapery – a rather naïvely obvious solution that would have been difficult to implement in sculpture – and as a consequence the rider's gesture of command has become more relaxed.

We must therefore return to the hypothesis that these were studies explicitly for a monument in the round. There may be no supporting evidence, but there is also nothing to disprove Vasari's information that Pollaiuolo produced these studies in the hope of realizing the colossus Leonardo was finding difficult to execute. If word got about in Florence that Sforza was having to appeal to Lorenzo de' Medici to find technicians capable of casting the monument, Pollaiuolo could have tried his hand at a design of his own, perhaps taking inspiration from Leonardo's ideas but simplifying them. The notion of a huge equestrian monument would have been as fascinating to Pollaiuolo as it had been to Donatello and Verrocchio and Leonardo. We know that when Gentile Virgino Orsini commissioned Pollaiuolo to do a portrait bust of him in 1494 Pollaiuolo proposed that he consider an equestrian portrait instead.¹⁰ The project was never carried out, nor could our two studies have been intended for it because this horseman's resemblance to Sforza is unmistakable, but the story is a clue to Pollaiuolo's ambitions.

All this reinforces the conviction that our study and the one in Munich are by Pollaiuolo himself, and not by his school, as has at times been suspected. Though both drawings are much damaged, the nervous planes and outlines are still quite readable, and the dynamic, sgraffitolike effect is unquestionably typical of Pollaiuolo. The very existence of two such similar studies speaks of Pollaiuolo's own hand. Only he could have permitted himself variations so slight but efficacious and so subtly infused with a masterful knowledge of figural representation both sculptural and pictorial created with pen, brush, and stylus.

NOTES:

1. Vasari (1568) 1878–85, vol. 3, p. 297: "E si trovò, dopo la morte sua, il disegno e modello che a Lodovico Sforza egli aveva fatto per la statua a cavallo di Francesco Sforza, duca di Milano; il quale disegno è nel nostro Libro, in due modi: in uno egli ha sotto Verona; nell'altro, egli tutto armato, e sopra un basamento pieno di battaglie, fa saltare il cavallo addosso a un armato." Vasari goes on, "Ma la cagione perchè non mettesse questi disegni in opera, no ho già potuto sapere."
2. Graphische Sammlung, 1908.168, mentioned in Van Marle 1923–38, vol. 11, p. 370. Courajod published the sheet in 1877 as a copy of a lost drawing by Leonardo for the Sforza monument, but when Morelli studied it more thoroughly in 1880 (pp. 106–15) he ascribed it to Pollaiuolo on the basis of the passage in Vasari's *Lives*. Morelli's identification was generally accepted, and Meller confirmed it in 1934. For the critical history of the Munich drawing and an exhaustive discussion of ours, see Vertova 1981, no. 7b.
3. A note in the Robert Lehman Collection files says that Meller once owned this drawing, and he has been listed as a former owner in several catalogues, including Szabo's of 1983. Meller himself, however, said only that the drawing was discovered the year previous to his writing and that it was in a private collection in New York when he published it in 1934; it was Philip Hofer who lent it to the Albright Art Gallery in Buffalo for the show of master drawings in January 1935. The annotations on the backing indicate that the sheet was in France at some point but do not say when and in whose collection. (In the monograph he published in 1935 López-Rey placed the drawing in a private collection in Paris, but Hofer already owned it by that time.) In 1947 Tietze referred to the drawing as still in Hofer's collection in Cambridge, and in the literature on Pollaiuolo Hofer is named as its owner through the late 1940s. Robert Lehman purchased it sometime before April 28, 1950, when the Philadelphia Museum of Art contacted him about including it in the exhibition that was to open there in November (letter in the Robert Lehman Collection files).
4. The fallen figure's right elbow was truncated when the left edge was trimmed, and the light margin that must have remained under Vasari's mount is missing at the top. Vasari's mount must have been on the drawing through the 1500s, for the *GATAMEL* at the right is clearly written in a sixteenth-century or only slightly later hand, and the word – probably the start of a reference to Donatello's *Gattamelata*, written by someone who was unaware of the passage in Vasari's life of Pollaiuolo – breaks off precisely where the mount would have been.
5. Uffizi, 31F; Degenhart and Schmitt 1968, no. 302, pl. 278c; Florence 1978, no. 79.
6. See Clark and Pedretti 1968–69, pp. xxxvi–xxxvii, and Florence 1984d.
7. For a thorough summary of these events, see Bush 1978 and Vertova 1981, no. 7a.
8. A Medusa's head that may have inspired this figure's appears on the breastplate of Verrocchio's terracotta bust of Giuliano de' Medici (National Gallery, Washington, D.C.), and Leonardo, Raphael, Michelangelo, and then Caravaggio all used similar heads (see Florence 1984c, nos. 97–99).
9. Morelli (1880, pp. 106–15), Van Marle (1923–38, vol. 11, p. 370), Degenhart and Schmitt, Bean and Stampfle (in New York 1965–66), Bush, Ertlinger, Sabatini, and Ortolani (the last two with some hesitation) have all proposed that the drawings were done in 1482 or 1483, and Pedretti (in Florence 1984d) seems not to reject the possibility that Leonardo may have taken his inspiration from the Pollaiuolo studies. In 1877 Courajod suggested a date of 1489 for the Munich drawing (see note 2 above).
10. See Crutwell 1907, pp. 16, 256, 257.

PROVENANCE: Giorgio Vasari, Florence; Simon Meller, Budapest and Paris(?); Philip Hofer, Cambridge (Mass.).

EXHIBITED: Buffalo 1935, no. 9, ill.; Northampton (Mass.) 1941, no. 15; Philadelphia 1950–51, no. 12, ill.; Paris 1957, no. 119, pl. 48; Cincinnati 1959, no. 203, ill.; New York 1965–66, no. 6, ill.; Los Angeles 1976, no. 9, ill.; New York 1978, no. 19, ill.

LITERATURE: Vasari (1568) 1878–85, vol. 3, p. 297; Meller 1934, ill.; López-Rey 1935, pp. 41, 42, 49, fig. 35; Kurz 1937, p. 13; Berenson 1938, no. 1908A, fig. 78; Colacicchi 1943, pl. 77; Tolnay 1943, p. 111, pl. 42; Sabatini 1944, p. 88; Tietze 1947, no. 13; Ortolani 1948, pp. 169, 220, 221, pl. 134; Ettlinger 1953, p. 243; Halm, Degenhart, and Wegner 1958, p. 26, colorpl. 2; Pope-Hennessy (1958) 1985, pp. 55–56, fig. 87; Berenson 1961, no. 1908A, fig. 75; Degenhart and Schmitt 1964, pp. 57–59, fig. 12; Munich 1967, under no. 60; Degenhart and Schmitt 1968, p. 633, fig. 971; Busignani 1970, pls. 178, 179; Spencer 1972, pp. 741–42; Spencer 1973, p. 35, fig. 10; Tietze 1973, no. 13; Ragghianti Collobi 1974, p. 78, fig. 209; Szabo 1975, p. 103, pl. 173; Bush 1978, pp. 47–49; Ettlinger 1978, no. 34, pl. 106; Hibbard 1980, pp. 233, 236, fig. 409; Szabo 1981, pp. 35–37, fig. 3; Vertova 1981, pp. 43–48; Szabo 1983, no. 12, ill.; Cocke 1984b, pp. 174, 177; Florence 1984d, p. 50; Metropolitan Museum 1987, p. 72, fig. 50.

Francesco di Giorgio Martini

(Francesco Maurizio di Giorgio di Martino Pollaiuolo)

Siena 1439–Siena 1501/2

Little is known of the training of this versatile artist who was a talented architect, painter, sculptor, and military engineer. The common assumption that Francesco was a pupil of Vecchietta's has no basis in fact. Most of his work as a painter and sculptor can be dated to before 1476, when his seven-year partnership with Neroccio de' Landi in Siena was dissolved. By the end of 1477 he was living in Urbino, where he served as architect, engineer, and sometimes sculptor for Duke Federigo da Montefeltro and his son and successor, Guidobaldo. During his years at the Montefeltro court Francesco worked on the Palazzo Ducale and constructed a number of fortresses, but he also took on commissions to design and build churches.

Francesco returned to Siena in 1489 and became official architect to the Signoria. The bronze angels he modeled for the high altar in the cathedral probably date to that year. In 1490 he went to Milan to offer advice on the construction of the cathedral dome and there met Leonardo da Vinci.

Francesco's drawings are principally the drawings of an architect-engineer, important for their adherence to a reality grounded in practical experience and the exigencies of the work site. His rare figurative drawings, though linked to Florentine graphic tradition, are vigorously personal.

Francesco di Giorgio Martini

70. Design for a Wall Monument

1975.I.376

Pen and brown ink, brush and brown wash, blue gouache, on vellum. 184 x 184 mm. Annotated in pen and brown ink at the lower left: *Franc[esc]o Francia*; in faint black chalk on the cartouche, in what might be a seventeenth-century hand: *Franc[esc]o / Francia Bolognese*.

Since this important drawing first came to light in the sale of the Le Hunte collection at Sotheby's in 1955 it has been exhibited several times (most recently at the Metropolitan Museum in 1988–89) with the correct and now commonly accepted attribution to Francesco di Giorgio.¹ Yet it is not as well known as it deserves to be, and its purpose and iconography remain puzzling.²



No. 70



Fig. 70.1 Francesco di Giorgio Martini, *Coronation of the Virgin*. Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena. Photograph: Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici, Siena

When the sheet appeared at Sotheby's in 1955 Pouncey recognized its relation to the sketches in Francesco's manuscript on engineering and military subjects in the British Museum.³ The attribution to Francesco has never been contested, and it can be supported by comparisons not only with the British Museum manuscript but also with paintings like the *Nativity* and, even more so, the *Coronation of the Virgin* (Fig. 70.1), both in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, and numerous drawings, among them (for the hatching) the *Birth of the Virgin and the Nativity*, a sheet from a sketchbook now in the Hamburger Kunsthalle,⁴ and (for the types of figures) two large draw-

ings in the Uffizi, Florence, *A Youth Standing in a Landscape* and *A Woman in a Stormy Landscape* (Fig. 70.2).⁵

In 1957, when the drawing was shown in Paris, Béguin concurred with Pouncey's attribution to Francesco di Giorgio. She interpreted the subject as a humanist probably presented by two Muses (called angels in the Sotheby's catalogue) and proposed that the trompe-l'oeil effect could indicate that the drawing was a design for sculpture. In her entry for the catalogue of the benefit exhibition for Columbia University in New York in 1959, Simon repeated Béguin's last suggestion and added a date, 1475–85, noting that the praying man resembles Saint Thomas Aquinas in Francesco's *Nativity* of 1475 (Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena) and that Francesco used somewhat similar architectural motifs on an archway in the Palazzo Ducale in Urbino.⁶ Blue gouache like this, Simon said, began to appear in Francesco's art after he was associated with Neroccio de' Landi. When they catalogued the sheet for the 1965–66 exhibition, also in New York, Bean and Stampfle agreed with Pouncey on the drawing's relation to those in the British Museum manuscript and with Simon on the male figure's likeness to Saint Thomas in the *Nativity* (adding that the female figure on the left in the drawing also resembles the saint in the right rear of the painting). But they thought the design was more likely to have been for a painting or an intarsia than for a sculptural project, and they quoted Pouncey's opinion that this "could have been the model for an illusionistic painting of a donor to be placed rather high on a wall opposite a painting of the Madonna and Child of the donor's benefaction."⁷

Vertova analyzed the drawing more thoroughly in 1981. The two women holding books, she said, represent not Muses or Virtues (Bean and Stampfle's suggestion) but Liberal Arts, which, along with the central figure's downward and sideways gaze, would seem to rule out this being a design for a funeral monument, and in any case Francesco would probably not have used so costly a material as vellum for a sculptural study. Elaborating on what Chastel had suggested in 1969, she therefore conjectured that the drawing might have been part of a frontispiece, perhaps even a frontispiece for a new edition of Francesco's own celebrated *Trattato di architettura civile e militare*. In that case, though Vertova admitted the theory cannot be proved, this might be a portrait of Francesco himself in his late years.⁸

Apparently unaware of Vertova's theory, Szabo returned in 1983 to Bean and Stampfle's and Pouncey's argument that the drawing could be a study for an illusionistic

wall painting. He went on to point out that although so far as we know Francesco executed no trompe-l'oeil paintings, they were not unusual in the art of his time, especially in Lombardy, and he might have been inspired in this instance by the illusionistic paintings of Vincenzo Foppa. Szabo also found traces of Foppa's influence in Francesco's *Nativity* of about 1485–90 in San Domenico in Siena and used the comparison to further confirm his dating of the drawing to after 1475. He suggested that the humanist portrayed here might be a poet and that the two Muses might represent the two directions of poetry according to Aristotle's *Poetics*, an unusual theme that might be explained by Francesco's contacts with the scholars and poets of the cultured court of Urbino.

Szabo's allusion to Lombard art has much to be said for it (in addition to Foppa's works, the illusionistic paintings in the manner of Bramante and the large oculi with figures by Bergognone in the transept of the church of the Certosa di Pavia come to mind) and might justify dat-



Fig. 70.2 Francesco di Giorgio Martini, *A Woman in a Stormy Landscape*. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence. Photograph: Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici, Florence

ing this sheet to the 1490s, when Francesco went to Milan. Kanter has also proposed that the Lehman drawing post-dates the British Museum manuscript, which has been placed in the 1470s, because these figures have the rounder proportions and less wiry line Francesco used in his later works, notably the *Nativity* in San Domenico, Siena, probably from the late 1480s, and the monochrome frescoes of 1489–93 in the Bichi Chapel in Sant'Agostino. "It is tempting," Kanter wrote in the catalogue of the exhibition of Sienese paintings held in New York in 1988–89, "to view this drawing as part of a preliminary plan by Francesco di Giorgio for the decoration of the chapel, subsequently rejected in favor of the frescoes actually painted by Signorelli." He added that "in such a case, the central figure might be identified as the powerful Antonio Bichi, and the drawing dated shortly after 1487, when Bichi acquired rights to the chapel." Kanter also offered an alternative hypothesis, that, given the fact that the donor is portrayed alive, this might have been a design for a sculpted cenotaph commissioned by a Sienese, Neapolitan, or Urbinat humanist.⁹

That this drawing was intended as a *modello* for a sculpture, as Béguin first suggested, or perhaps a sculptural trompe l'oeil, is indeed probable. However intelligent and well documented Vertova's hypothesis was, the *sotto in su* perspective, pronounced in the round window and less so in the figures themselves, would have been pointless in the small space of an illuminated page, and the oblong cartouche, or *tabula ansata*, obviously intended to hold an inscription, would not have been necessary if the drawing were meant to face a title page. The patently architectural treatment of the tablet and the oculus (drawn with a compass, as Szabo noted) also suggests that this is a design for a large-scale work rather than a miniature. That it is drawn on vellum may signify the importance of the commission and the persistence of the Sienese tradition of using the more valuable and durable material for *modelli* to be presented to patrons.

Even if the blue in the background is a later addition, it might reconstitute traces of blue originally applied by the artist to simulate sky behind a sculpture of considerable size. That the drawing was intended for a monochrome work of art would also explain the absence of traces of other colors and the painstaking modeling of the figures, achieved with no more than pen and brush. The decoration of the inside of the arch with coffers and rosettes is also characteristic of sculpture; indeed, as Vertova has reminded us, Donatello used similar motifs in the relief of the Madonna and Child seated in a marble ring above the altar in the Chapel of San Callisto in

Siena Cathedral, which he and his assistants completed in 1458.¹⁰ Francesco di Giorgio himself suggested this type of decoration in his design for the Sala della Pace that Pietro degli Orioli executed in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena. And, as Kanter has observed, Francesco may also have designed the two similar roundels, containing Sibyls rather than a donor but with the same perspectival structure and adorned with the same sort of coffers, in the grisaille frescoes that Luca Signorelli painted in the Bichi Chapel.¹¹

What type of sculptural project the drawing was intended for is difficult to say, but a funerary monument in a chapel is not impossible. In fact, the donor's bare head and his attitude of prayer leave room for the suggestion that the artist had a tomb sculpture in mind. To the objection that the Liberal Arts would seem to be anomalous to such a monument we might reply that the plan may have been to have the requisite tutelary saints, angels, or Virtues flank, support, or surmount a sarcophagus placed beneath the oculus. In any event, the unusual iconography might well have been acceptable in communities like Siena and Urbino that were outside the mainstream.¹² The oculus with an effigy of the deceased might have been intended for a lunette to be inserted into a traditional Tuscan monument like Mino da Fiesole's tomb of Bernardo Giugni in the Badia, Florence.¹³ The idea of a portrait framed by a classical roundel would have been perfectly consistent with Francesco's cosmopolitan background, and it was used often in Siena, most conspicuously in the cathedral, where a series of round shields containing portraits of emperors surmounts the nave and choir.¹⁴

If the artist himself applied blue color to the background he may have been anticipating a majolica or mosaic surface for the final work. Unless, of course, the project was conceived to be executed entirely in white and blue enameled terracotta, like the della Robbia terracottas, or perhaps in stucco with only the background polychromed, like Donatello's roundels with the Evangelists and scenes from the life of Saint John the Evangelist in the Old Sacristy of San Lorenzo in Florence. This might even have been a design for one of a series of such figurations in a family chapel. For the moment, however, we have no way of identifying the man whose name and station in life would doubtless have been inscribed on the blank tablet at the base.

NOTES:

1. The sheet was not included in any of the monographs on Francesco published in the first half of this century: Brandi

1934, Brinton 1934–35, Degenhart 1935, Weller 1943, and Salmi 1947. Though it was only one of several important sheets offered at the sale in 1955, this drawing sold for the highest price, £9,500, to Mrs. Drey, who was probably acting on behalf of Robert Lehman (see the note in the copy of the sale catalogue in the Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence). Veronese's famous *Head of a Negro* (Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. A2108, pl. 196.1; New York 1965–66, no. 131, ill.; Cocke 1984a, no. 68), also acquired by Mrs. Drey for Mr. Lehman, brought only £2,000. The Veronese drawing is no longer in the Robert Lehman Collection. See also No. 39. For details of the Le Hunte provenance, we are indebted to Byam Shaw 1983, no. 24.

2. This text was written before the catalogue of the New York exhibition of 1988–89 appeared, and Kanter's excellent entry on this drawing could be used here only referentially.
3. Pouncey's attribution of our drawing is reported in New York 1965–66. For the manuscript in the British Museum (1947.1.17.2), see Popham and Pouncey 1950, no. 55, and Scaglia 1980.
4. Hamburger Kunsthalle, 21320; Degenhart 1939, p. 123.
5. Uffizi, 375E, 342E; Degenhart 1935, p. 122, fig. 127; Petrioli Tofani 1986–87, pp. 151, 167; Weller 1943, pp. 252, 254, figs. 108, 109.
6. See Papini 1946, vol. 2, pl. 156 (cited in New York 1959b).
7. Conversation with Pouncey quoted in New York 1965–66, no. 10.
8. As an example of other pages illuminated by Francesco di Giorgio, Vertova cited his self-portrait and his portrait of Federigo da Montefeltro in the copy of the *Disputationes camaldulenses* by Cristoforo Landino now in the Vatican Library (Cod. Urb. Lat. 508; Weller 1943, p. 192, fig. 1). The miniature is indeed pertinent here, even though our drawing is not truly polychrome and its proportions and poses were meant not only for a different sort of composition but also probably for a different purpose. It should be noted that not all authorities agree that the miniature is by Francesco di Giorgio; Garzelli (1985, p. 141), for example, ascribed it to Francesco di Antonio del Chierico.
9. Kanter (New York 1988–89, no. 68) also cites an unpublished document referred to by Malaguzzi Valeri (1894, p. 371) that suggests that Francesco was also in Bologna in 1490. The two annotations on the Lehman drawing, he proposes, "may imply an Emilian provenance, and perhaps a dating to that year [1490]."
10. See Herzner 1971 (cited by Kanter in New York 1988–89, no. 68).
11. For the decoration of the Bichi Chapel in Sant'Agostino, see Seidel 1979 and Riedl et al. 1985, pp. 71–78 (published after the restoration was completed).
12. The tomb of Sixtus IV by the Pollaiuolo in the Vatican is decorated with the Arts.
13. The monument includes, above, a roundel with a portrait of the deceased instead of the more customary Madonna and Child and, in the middle register, a personification of Justice rising above the sarcophagus, on whose lid lies the effigy of the deceased man. The simpler cenotaph of Boccaccio by Gian Francesco Rustici in Santi Michele e Jacopo, Certaldo, and the monument to Marsilio Ficino by

Andrea Ferrucci in Florence Cathedral are also analogous to our project, but they are of later date and represent the deceased beneath an arch rather than in a roundel.

14. See Del Bravo 1970, p. 104. The round shields, which date to before 1503, have a pronounced Lombard echo also noted in our sheet.

PROVENANCE: George Le Hunte, Artramont, County Wexford, Ireland; Misses M. H., L. E., and M. D. Le Hunte; Le Hunte sale 1955, lot 42, ill. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1955.

EXHIBITED: Paris 1957, no. 98, pl. 49; New York 1959b, no. 7, pl. 3; New York 1965–66, no. 10, ill.; Los Angeles 1976, no. 10, ill.; Tokyo 1977, no. 3, pl. 2; New York 1978, no. 21, ill.; New York 1988–89, no. 68, ill.

LITERATURE: Chastel 1969, pp. 167, 171, ill.; Szabo 1975, p. 103, pl. 175; Vertova 1981, no. 23, ill.; Byam Shaw 1983, n. 12 under no. 2; Szabo 1983, no. 14, ill.; Metropolitan Museum 1987, p. 62, fig. 40.

Luca Signorelli

Cortona ca. 1445–Cortona 1523

Signorelli probably was trained by Piero della Francesca. He was soon attracted by the innovations of the Florentine artists, especially Antonio Pollaiuolo. He may have met Pietro Perugino in Piero's workshop. He seems to have collaborated with Perugino in Perugia and Florence in the late 1470s, and in 1481–82 he worked alongside Perugino and others on the decoration of the Sistine Chapel.

The early 1480s marked the beginning of Signorelli's most intense and qualitatively finest period of work. The altarpiece *Madonna and Child with Four Saints and an Angel* that he produced in 1484 for the cathedral at Perugia was followed by other successful works like the *Holy Family* now in the Uffizi, Florence, and his remarkable fresco decorations: the *Life of Saint Benedict* of 1498–99 in the cloister of the monastery of Monte Oliveto Maggiore and the great cycle of 1499–1504, depicting the Last Judgment, in the Chapel of San Brizio in Orvieto Cathedral, which is his best-known work and also the most representative of his mature style. In his successive endeavors Signorelli never again matched the eloquence and fervor of the Orvieto frescoes; in his late works his fascination with anatomical form took on a consistency bordering on abstract formula and, in passages executed largely by his shop, a certain slack facility.

Signorelli's exploration of anatomy and of the nude in movement is documented in his drawings. Some of his drawings were done in pen, but most are in black and red chalk, a medium with which he was among the first to experiment, with great ability.

Luca Signorelli

71. Head of a Man in Profile

1975.1.420

Black chalk, pen and brown ink, heightened with white. Pricked for transfer, largely along the brown lines but also in the lower left of the background and on a vertical line along the left edge. 299 x 244 mm. Mounted. Inscribed in pen and brown ink around the ear: *p o v x j* (upside down).

This drawing of unknown provenance was already in Robert Lehman's collection when Berenson published it in 1938 as by Luca Signorelli and as probably for a lost Nativity from the first decade of the sixteenth century.¹

None of the monographs on Signorelli appear to mention this sheet, however, and this particular figure appears in none of his surviving paintings or frescoes.

Although judging its quality is difficult because it has been gone over in pen, this drawing is very much like other cartoons or fragments of cartoons by Signorelli or his collaborators. It can be compared, for example, with Signorelli's preparatory drawing for the horsemen in the fresco *Coriolanus with Volumnia and Veturia* of about 1509, and this face also recalls his drawing for figures in the *Adoration of the Shepherds* (Fig. 71.1), datable to 1496 or later, formerly in the church of San Francesco, Città di Castello (the drawings are in the British Museum, the paintings in the National Gallery, London).² Our sheet is reminiscent as well of the drawing in the British Museum that is a copy after Signorelli's fresco *The Flagellation of Christ* of about 1510 in the church of San Crescentino, Morra.³ Even more striking is its resemblance to another drawing in the British Museum (Fig. 71.2) that also depicts a head in profile looking downward and can be attributed to a talented follower of Signorelli and dated to the first decade of the sixteenth century.⁴ The *Head of a Woman* in the Uffizi, Florence, which Berenson attributed to Signorelli and dated to the

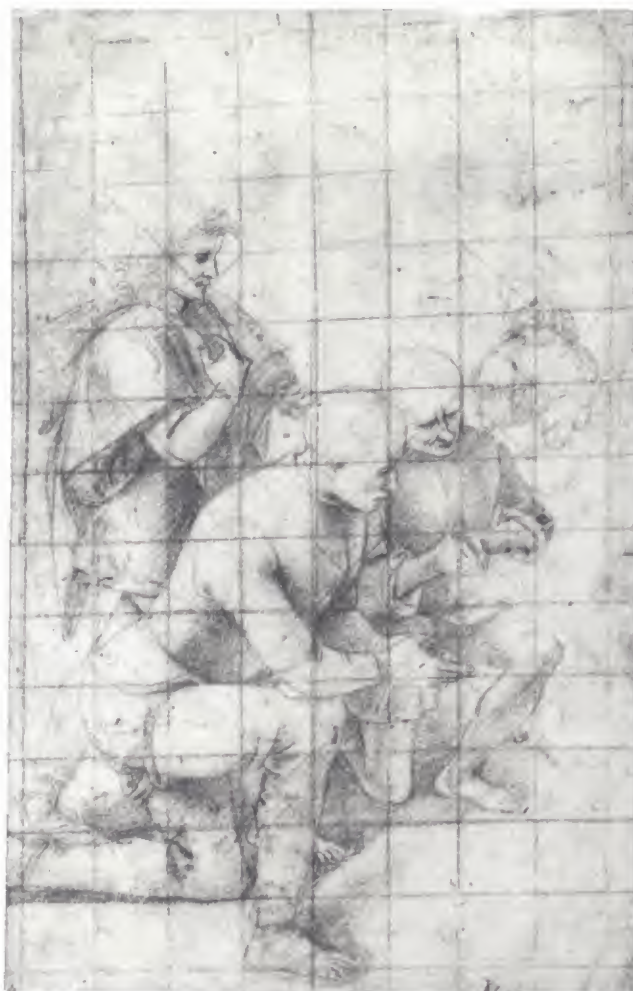


Fig. 71.1 Luca Signorelli, *Three Shepherds and an Angel*. British Museum, London. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum



No. 71, detail (enlarged)

early 1500s, probably after the Orvieto frescoes, has a similar broad, firm line.⁵

Szabo noted in 1983 that when Signorelli painted portraits of the Vitelli family between 1490 and 1500 he depicted them with similarly strict profiles, downward gazes, and slightly bent heads. Szabo therefore suggested that this drawing might be earlier than Berenson supposed and that it might have been used for composing portraits. In view of the well-characterized features and the contemporary costume, this drawing was no doubt studied or at any rate inspired from life. Yet the bowed head seems more appropriate for a figure in adoration than a portrait. The idea that the drawing was done for a shepherd in a Nativity seems the most probable, and the suggestion is supported by its affinity with the figures in the London *Adoration of the Shepherds*. This head



No. 71



Fig. 71.2 Follower of Luca Signorelli, *Head in Profile*. British Museum, London. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

also bears some physical resemblance, notably in the long crease from the eye to the chin and the broad plane of the cheek, to the donor at the right in the *Coronation of the Virgin* in San Martino, Foiano della Chiana (Arezzo), which was commissioned from Signorelli in 1522 and executed in large part by his assistants.⁶

That our drawing is indeed a cartoon is shown not only by the pricking and the fact that it was drawn in black chalk but also by the large number of parallel horizontal lines and one vertical line indented into the

paper. The pricking of the image itself is very dense and meticulously follows every line in the contours, which are so simplified and clearly defined that one suspects that the drawing may have been conceived not for a painting but for a work in a different medium, perhaps cloth or, more likely, stained glass or wooden intarsia. The reference marks on the ear might have been intended as notes to the artisan. No drawings by Signorelli for tapestries or stained glass seem to have survived, however.

NOTES:

1. Ragghianti Collobi proposed in 1974 that this might be the sheet with a portrait of Giuliano de' Medici by Timoteo Viti that Vasari said he had in his *Libro de' disegni*. But the grounds for such a hypothesis are hard to see, not only because Vasari spoke explicitly of a pen and ink sketch but because nothing about the drawing suggests that it is a likeness of a figure of rank or that it could be by Viti. Furthermore, there is no trace of a mount like those Vasari is known to have added to the drawings he owned.

On Signorelli, see the Ph.D. dissertations by Gloria Kury Keach (Yale University, 1974; on the early works) and Laurence B. Kanter (New York University, 1989; on the late works). See also Kanter in New York 1988–89, p. 340.

2. British Museum, 1860.6.16.93, 1895.9.15.602; Popham and Pouncey 1950, nos. 237, 235, pls. 203, 200; Berenson 1961, nos. 2509E-1, E-4, figs. 91, 104, 105.

3. British Museum, 1895.9.15.604; Popham and Pouncey 1950, no. 246; Berenson 1961, no. 2509N-1.

4. British Museum, 1946.13.221; Berenson 1933, p. 287, fig. 6; Berenson 1961, no. 2509N-2. The drawing was formerly in the Fitzroy Fenwick collection, Cheltenham.

5. Uffizi, 18708F; *ibid.*, no. 2509D-9.

6. See Cortona–Florence 1953, no. 67, ill.

PROVENANCE: [Richard Ederheimer, New York]. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1932(?).

EXHIBITED: Northampton (Mass.) 1942–44; New York 1978, no. 37, ill.

LITERATURE: Berenson 1938, no. 2509G; Berenson 1961, no. 2509G, fig. 117; Ragghianti Collobi 1974, p. 106; Hibbard 1980, p. 240, fig. 424; Szabo 1983, no. 22, ill.

Pietro Perugino

(Pietro di Cristoforo Vannucci)

Città della Pieve ca. 1448/50–Fontignano (Perugia) 1523

Perugino's clear, perfectly balanced compositions reflect his early contact with the works of Piero della Francesca. In Florence in the early 1470s, probably in the Verrocchio workshop, he enriched his Umbrian foundation with the linear, archaizing style and graphic probity that is so essential a part of the Tuscan tradition.

In 1481 Perugino went to Rome, at the behest of Pope Sixtus IV, to decorate the walls of the Sistine Chapel along with Botticelli, Ghirlandaio, Cosimo Rosselli, and Piero di Cosimo. Perugino finished his work on the frescoes, including his *Delivery of the Keys to Saint Peter*, in 1482, and from then on he was kept busy traveling between Florence and Rome, the Marches, and Umbria, with sojourns in Bologna, Cremona, Ferrara, and Milan. His many paintings and frescoes, often executed with considerable help from his numerous pupils and assistants, vary in quality, but they all demonstrate his persistent fidelity to polished, ordered formulas and painstaking draftsmanship. Among the paintings that perhaps best exemplify his style are the *Pietà* of 1495 from Santa Chiara in Florence, now in the Galleria Palatina in the Palazzo Pitti; the fresco *The Crucifixion* completed in 1496 in Santa Maria Maddalena dei Pazzi, Florence; the *Madonna and Six Saints* of 1497 in Santa Maria Nuova in Fano; the *Ascension* polyptych commissioned in 1495 by the Benedictine monks of San Pietro in Perugia and now scattered in several museums (the central panel is in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyons); and the frescoes of 1498–1502 in the Collegio del Cambio, Perugia. The city of Perugia made Perugino an honorary citizen in 1485.

A great many drawings typical of Perugino's approach survive, but not all of them can be assigned to his own hand with certainty, and some of the drawings ascribed to him might be the work of his most precocious and gifted pupil, Raphael.

Workshop of Perugino

72. Study of the Head of a Youth Gazing Upward

1975.I.394

Black chalk. Squared in black chalk. Eyes, nose, mouth, chin, and ear retouched with pen and brown ink. 226 x 151 mm. Losses at the lower right and left edges and at the top left corner. Laid down. Annotated on the verso of the old backing paper in black chalk: 105 (at the top, crossed out) / 108 (at the left). In black chalk in the hand of Teodor de Wyzewa: *Ce dessin provient d'une / collection formée par Bartsch / au XVIII^e siècle – la même / collection comprenait quatre / autres dessins intitulés Gaddo / Gaddi, dont un Perugin (étude / pour la fresque de Florence) et / deux dessins de l'école de Fra / Filippo Lippi (aujourd'hui en / Amérique) / Pérugin. In pen and black ink in the hand of Charles Eggimann: *Dessin du Perugin / La note au crayon ci-dessus / est de la main de T. de Wyzewa / [Eggimann's signature] / Etude pour la figure de St Antoine. On the bottom of the old mat, also in Eggimann's hand: *Pietro Vannucci / dit Le Pérugin / 1446 – 1524*.¹ Watermark: horn in a circle.**

Although this drawing is unmistakably Peruginesque in style, studying its original characteristics is now hampered by the heavy retouching in pen, which has altered and harshened the expressive lines of the face, particularly around the mouth and eyes but also in the ear, the nose, and the planes of the chin. Perugino used this type of head – foreshortened and fraught with emotion befitting a witness to a tragedy, a miracle, or a scene of martyrdom – in numerous paintings throughout his career. Several such heads seen from different viewpoints appear in the *Ascension*, now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyons, from the polyptych Perugino painted between 1495 and about 1498 for San Pietro in Perugia. The *Saint Placid* now in the Vatican Museums from that same polyptych has a similar upturned face. Other obvious examples include the figure of Saint Sebastian in the Tezi altarpiece of 1500 now in the Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia, and the onlookers in both the *Crucifixion* and the *Coronation of the Virgin* in the altarpiece of about 1502–4 from San Francesco al Monte, Perugia, and now in the Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria. And the same head was used for the Virgin and Saint John, one facing left, the other right, in the *Crucifixion* in Sant'Agostino, Siena, and for the Virgin and, varied slightly, several onlookers in the *Assumption of the Virgin* from about 1506 in Santissima Annunziata, Florence, a device that is repeated in the *Ascension* completed in 1513 in Sansepolcro Cathedral and the *Assumption of the Virgin* of 1512–13 in the church of Santa Maria in Corciano (Perugia). The head is reversed in the *Saint Sebastian* formerly in the Hasson collection in Shenfield, Berkshire, England.² Though the treatment is sketchier and the expression less



Fig. 72.1 Follower of Pietro Perugino(?), *Head of a Youth*.
Musée Bonnat, Bayonne

sorrowful, the drawing closest in type to ours is the study of a head in the Musée Bonnat, Bayonne (Fig. 72.1), that has been attributed to Perugino but is more likely by a follower.³

The young Raphael, too, favored this way of inclining heads, as can be seen in his *Head of a Young Man Gazing Upward* in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and two studies of a kneeling youth, one in the Ashmolean,⁴ the other in the Louvre, Paris.⁵ But the deft handling of the metalpoint or pen and the fine quality of Raphael's sketches make them quite unlike this drawing, which is virtually a small cartoon. The sheet is in fact squared, perhaps not only for direct transfer into paint but also for use in different sizes, and the paper is coated with white chalk, a technique Raphael used quite early in his career and also during his years in Rome. With this in mind one might be inclined to see here the hand of no one less than Perugino, as Szabo did in the catalogue of the New York exhibition of 1979. Yet although what can still be read beneath the later redrawing appears quite carefully done, the schematic character of the contours and shadows and the slippage in the facial planes suggest a workshop product. This particular type of head was exploited wholesale in so many paintings not only by Perugino himself but also by his followers and collaborators that it is quite plausible that what we have here

is a working drawing possibly done after an autograph cartoon by Perugino. Kanter believes that the drawing can be attributed to the young Luca Signorelli, who started out as a follower of Perugino and who often depicted heads of this general type.⁶

NOTES:

1. In a similar way both De Wyzewa and Eggimann annotated the mount of another drawing that passed through their collections, a *Study for the Figure of Christ* by Signorelli now in the Lugt collection, Fondation Custodia, Paris (2538; Byam Shaw 1983, no. 85, ill.).
2. For these paintings, see Camesasca 1969, nos. 56C, 56M, 69A, 91A, 91B, 97A, 100B, 109A, 111A, 284.
3. Musée Bonnat, 1315. Fischel (1917, no. 40, fig. 107) ascribed the drawing to Perugino, but it is more likely by an artist of his school (see Bean 1960, no. 102, ill.).
4. For the two drawings in Oxford, see Parker 1956, nos. 512, 509, pl. 118.
5. Louvre, RF49; Fischel 1917, no. 71, fig. 136; Paris 1983–84a, pp. 175–76, no. 11, ill. Fischel classed the drawing among those whose authors are undetermined and supposed that its date coincided with the collaboration between Raphael and Perugino (see Fischel 1917, nos. 68–79). The entry in the Paris catalogue notes that the drawing is derived from the apostle to the right in Perugino's *Transfiguration* in the Collegio del Cambio in Perugia (Fischel 1913–41, vol. 1, fig. 36; Camesasca 1969, no. 71N) and that its attribution to Raphael is still hypothetical.
6. Oral communication, 1988.

PROVENANCE: Teodor de Wyzewa, Paris (Lugt 2471); Charles Eggimann, Paris; [Richard Ederheimer, New York(?)].

EXHIBITED: Poughkeepsie 1942–44; New York 1979, no. 1, ill.

LITERATURE: Szabo 1983, fig. 48.



No. 72

Circle of Perugino

73. Group of Warriors Standing

1975.I.399

Tip of the brush and black ink, black wash, traces of black chalk, heightened with white, on dark brown tinted paper.
249 x 161 mm.

As Heseltine first recognized in 1913, the group of warriors depicted here is replicated in two other drawings, one in the Louvre, Paris (Fig. 73.1),¹ the other in the Uffizi, Florence (Fig. 73.2),² both in the same medium as our drawing. And the figure in the foreground also appears in a drawing in the Accademia, Venice,³ and, in reverse, in an engraving inscribed *Guerino dit Meschi* that has been ascribed to a Lombard artist and dated 1493 (Fig. 73.3).⁴ All these copies are by different hands.

In both our drawing and the Uffizi sheet there are errors in the placement of the feet and legs of the figures in the background, particularly the left leg of the second figure from the right. Either one was copied from the other or both were drawn from a copy of the original prototype. The incongruities are less pronounced in the Louvre drawing; it may have been copied directly from the original, which could have been either a drawing or a painting.

Figures with gestures (see No. 74) and costumes or armor like these appear in works by both Pinturicchio

and Perugino, but this particular composition corresponds to none of their surviving paintings. It had long been surmised that the prototype for all the copies was a study by Pinturicchio for one of the lost frescoes in the Castel Sant'Angelo in Rome. But Ferino Pagden ruled out that hypothesis, which is supported by no documentary evidence, in 1984 when she discussed the Accademia sheet in the catalogue of the Venice exhibition. She credited the original invention to Perugino, citing a drawing in the Städtische Wessenberg-Gemäldegalerie, Konstanz,⁵ attributed to an anonymous Lombard of the early sixteenth century, in which the figure in the Accademia drawing (the warrior in the foreground here) stands next to a figure that also appears in an autograph drawing by Perugino now at Windsor Castle⁶ and in a study for his altarpiece for the Certosa di Pavia.⁷ Perugino might have conceived the figures, Ferino Pagden suggested, in connection with the series of "uomini illustri" in the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence, before the commission was given to Ghirlandaio.

Other Umbrian painters also depicted figures like these in similar poses. Giovanni Santi's altarpiece in the monastery of Montefiorentino at Frontino (Pesaro) is but one example. The altarpiece is dated 1488, well before the engraving of 1493 popularized the same type of figure.



Fig. 73.1 (left) Umbria(?), late fifteenth century. *Group of Warriors*. Musée du Louvre, Paris. Photograph: Réunion des Musées Nationaux Fig. 73.2 (center) Umbria(?), late fifteenth century. *Group of Warriors*. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence. Photograph: Foto Ottica Europa, Florence Fig. 73.3 (right) Lombardy(?), late fifteenth century. *A Warrior*. British Museum, London. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum



No. 73

Obviously, then, these are stock figures that, though they might have been invented by famous artists like Perugino or Pinturicchio, circulated in the Umbrian studios independently of their original sources and were adapted for all sorts of subjects. That a prototype famous in the last decades of the fifteenth century must have been the source for this composition is demonstrated not only by the number of replicas still in existence but also, even more so, by the fact that all three copies were executed in brush or metalpoint and ink highlighted with white on tinted or prepared paper, the rich medium usually reserved for workshop exempla or for *modelli* for major undertakings.

NOTES:

1. Louvre, 3451; photograph Giraudon 390; Fischel 1917, no. 101 (see note 2).
2. Uffizi, 280E; *ibid.*, under no. 101, fig. 269 (as closer to Pinturicchio than the Louvre drawing, but certainly not by him); Ferino Pagden in Venice 1984, under no. 55, appendix, fig. 149 (as workshop of Perugino); Petrioli Tofani 1986–87, no. 280E, ill. (as Pinturicchio). The drawing was formerly attributed to Ercole Grandi.
3. Accademia, 174; Ferino Pagden in Venice 1984, no. 55, ill. (as Perugino [follower of?]). In the nineteenth century this drawing was ascribed to Gerino da Pistoia.
4. Hind 1938–48, vol. 1, F.6, pl. 463; Venice 1984, under no. 55, appendix, fig. 151.
5. Städtische Wessenberg-Gemäldegalerie, 37/108; Venice 1984, under no. 55, appendix, fig. 150; Milan 1984, no. 2.
6. Fischel 1917, no. 54, fig. 126.
7. Camesasca 1969, no. 60D, pl. 32.

PROVENANCE: Henry Wellesley, Oxford; Wellesley sale 1866, lot 1273; John Postle Heseltine, London (Lugt 1507); Henry Oppenheimer, London; Oppenheimer sale 1936, lot 143. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1936.

EXHIBITED: New York 1978, no. 32, ill.

LITERATURE: Heseltine 1913, no. 27, ill.; Hind 1938–48, vol. 1, under F.6, p. 281; Milan 1984, under no. 2, p. 38; Venice 1984, under no. 55.

Circle of Perugino or Raphael

74. Two Studies of a Standing Youth in Quattrocento Clothing

1975.1.393

Metalpoint on pinkish prepared paper. Retouched by a later hand in pencil, particularly the figure at the right. 217 x 176 mm.

Verso: A cardinal's hat on a fragmentary coat of arms with a griffin (the arms of the city of Perugia, probably alluding to the cardinal legate of Umbria). Black chalk, over dots obtained by the pouncing of a model; partly retouched with brush and brown ink.

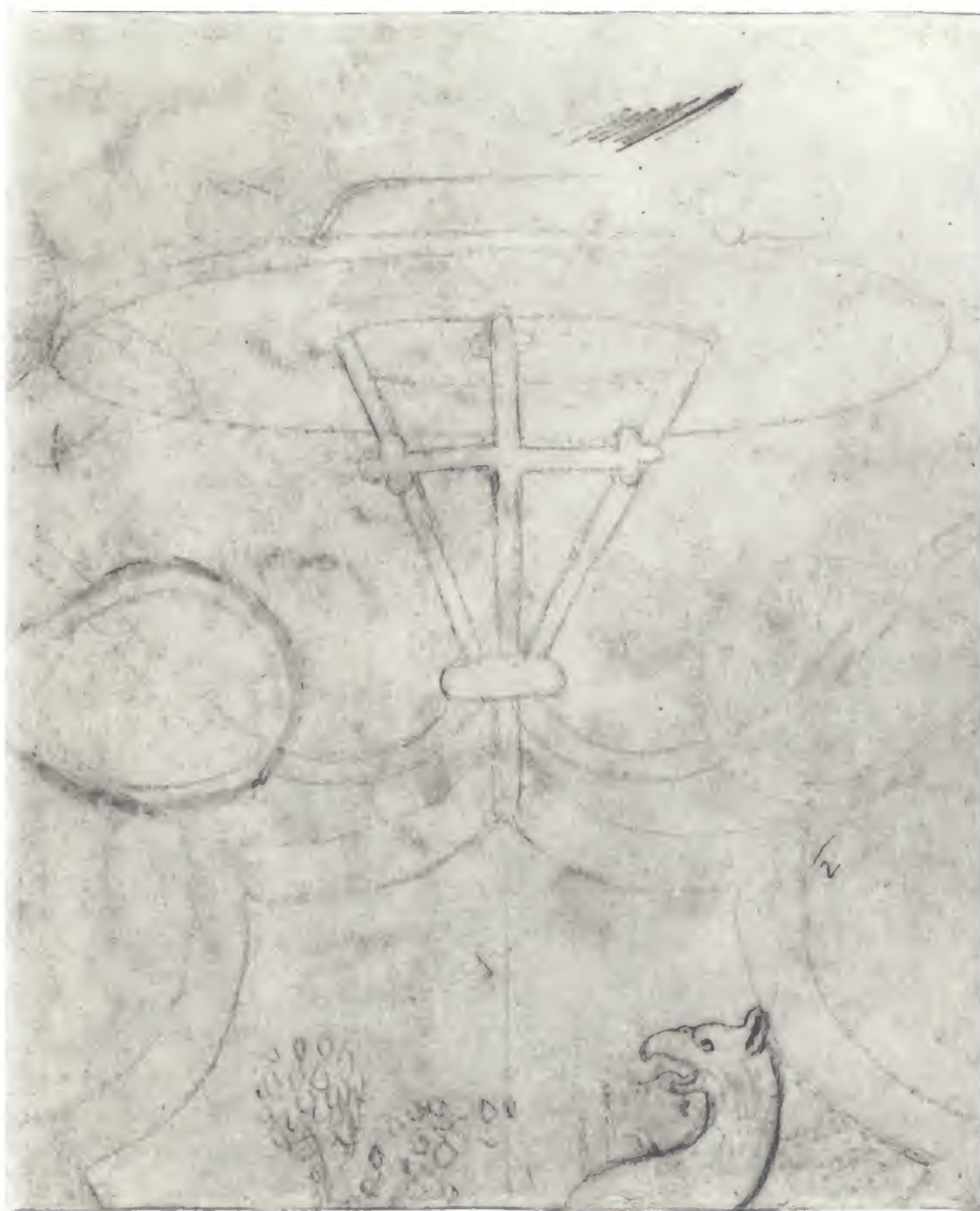
Judging this drawing is difficult because of its poor state of conservation.¹ The figure at the left is so faded that it is almost easier to read in a photograph than directly. The right-hand figure, which must originally have been lightly hatched with a thin metal point or black chalk, has been completely gone over and its stylistic traits have been masked by a clumsy later hand. Whoever did the retouching, however, must have followed the original artist's lines. It is unlikely that anyone other than the artist himself would have made the subtle alterations in the pose (the hands, the inclination of the head, the left foot), the costume, and the hair. The differences between the two figures would accord with traditional practice in both Florentine and Umbrian workshops in the fifteenth century, whereby artists began with a study of a live model in contemporary costume and then step by step, on the same sheet, worked out details of gestures and clothing appropriate to a particular subject.

The procedure was followed especially methodically in Umbrian workshops. Raphael himself used it throughout his career, though obviously more often in his youth. Raphael's name has in fact in the past been authoritatively connected with this drawing.² But the attribution is no longer accepted in the literature, nor does the drawing's present condition encourage a definitive opinion. This sheet does indeed have certain affinities with some of the studies from Raphael's youth,³ and certain figures in his paintings are similarly posed,⁴ but in quality our drawing seems quite different from his authenticated drawings.

The two other names proposed for this sheet – Pinturicchio (by Ricci) and Perugino (by Fischel and Szabo) – are rather more credible. This type of figure appears often in both artists' work. Oddly enough, in Pinturicchio's paintings the figure is always reversed, as for instance in the *Penelope* in the National Gallery, London, and in the foreground and background of the scenes in the frescoes in the Libreria Piccolomini of Siena Cathedral. The delicate dryness of Pinturicchio's line and



No. 74



No. 74, *verso*

the almost childlike expressions of his figures are not too remote from what can be made out on our sheet, but until his corpus of drawings has been better defined and clarified the hypothesis that he is the author of this sheet must remain just that.

Perugino's drawings and paintings offer more plentiful opportunities for comparison, but none are fully convincing. Our figure – and we have to concern ourselves chiefly with the figure at the left, which has remained intact – is rather too rigid, and the oval, inarticulated face, with its plump cheeks and pointed chin, is unlike anything in the drawings more securely attributed to Perugino. From a stylistic point of view our drawing can be compared with his *Nude Youth* in the Uffizi, Florence, in which the outline is treated in a similarly summary way.⁵ And this same figure, albeit varied or reversed, appears in the drawings on the recto and verso of a sheet in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, that Fischel considered to be rejected studies by Perugino for the fresco *The Adoration of the Magi*, dated 1504, in the Oratorio di Santa Maria dei Bianchi, Città della Pieve,⁶ as well as in a drawing in the Musée Bonnat, Bayonne, that Bean has recognized as a study for the young king in the fresco with the same subject painted by Perugino's students in the church of San Gerolamo in Spello.⁷ The figure can also be found in several other paintings by Perugino or his school, for example, as a youth in the background of the *Agony in the Garden* (Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence), as Saint Michael in the *Madonna in Glory* (Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna),⁸ and as Cato and, reversed, Fabius Maximus and Scipio in the frescoes in the Collegio del Cambio, Perugia. That very ubiquity would seem to connect our sheet more with Perugino's circle than with Pinturicchio's. This drawing may date to sometime around 1504, when Perugino produced the fresco in Città della Pieve.

NOTES:

1. In the past it was considered desirable to repair deteriorated drawings, though the conspicuous retouching of this figure seems to have been done after 1913, for in the photograph in the Heseltine catalogue it appears to be more readable and its details more recognizable than they are now. According to Fischel (1917, no. 90), however, other drawings from the Conestabile collection were retouched by the same insensitive hand. A note in the Robert Lehman Collection files says that in 1973 this drawing was fumigated with Thymol and flattened and its old mount removed to reveal the drawing on the verso. A label on the old backing indicates that the drawing may once have been in the Conestabile collection in Perugia; it reads: *Raphael / Conestabile coll.*? Two Paris customs marks are also imprinted on the back.

2. Ricketts captioned the sheet as by Raphael when he illustrated it in the Vasari Society volume published in 1920, and Heseltine catalogued it as Raphael's in 1913. Notes in the Robert Lehman Collection files indicate that Berenson once thought the drawing might be a "very early Raphael" (the photograph in his library at the Harvard Center for Renaissance Studies at Villa I Tatti, Florence, is filed under both Raphael and Perugino) and that during a visit to the Lehman residence on Park Avenue in New York on April 12, 1963, Byam Shaw also suggested that it "could be Raphael."
3. Comparable figures are found in the *Group of Four Standing Soldiers* and *Study of a Young Man Making Music* in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Parker 1956, nos. 510, 511b), and the *Nude Man Seen from Behind* in the British Museum, London (Pouncey and Gere 1962, no. 1, pl. 2).
4. A figure in a similar pose stands with his back turned in the *Adoration of the Magi* in the predella in the Vatican Pinacoteca, and a similar figure, facing front, was used in the *Miracle of Saint Cyril* in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon.
5. Uffizi, 205F; Florence 1982–83, no. 6.
6. Fischel 1917, nos. 86, 87, figs. 152, 153; Parker 1956, no. 29.
7. Musée Bonnat, 1287; Fischel 1917, no. 88, fig. 154 (for the fresco, see fig. 55); Bean 1960, no. 101, ill. See also No. 73.
8. Camesasca 1959, pp. 64, 66, figs. 74, 78.

PROVENANCE: Conestabile, Perugia(?); private collection, Paris(?); John Postle Heseltine, London; Henry Oppenheimer, London; Oppenheimer sale 1936, lot 133, fig. 33.

EXHIBITED: Paris 1957, no. 117, pl. 50; Cincinnati 1959, no. 205, ill.; New York 1978, no. 28, ill.

LITERATURE: Ricci 1912, p. 264; Heseltine 1913, no. 34; Fischel 1917, no. 90, pl. 156; C. Ricketts in Vasari Society 1920, pl. 3; Parker 1956, under no. 29; Szabo 1983, no. 18, ill.; Scarpellini 1984, fig. 219 under no. 131.



Circle of Perugino or Raphael

75. Five Nude Infants in Various Poses

1975.I.395

Metalpoint, traces of charcoal or black chalk, on pale pinkish gray prepared paper. 238 x 189 mm. Laid down. Annotated on the verso in pen and ink in a nineteenth-century hand (legible through the backing): *Raffaele* and 1833 W E 210.

Such clear, delicate contours and shading indicate a draftsman adept at the difficult technique of metalpoint on prepared paper. Rather than a workshop product, this drawing is therefore the work of an independent artist, linked though he may have been to the precepts of the Umbrian ambient of Perugino and, consequently, the young Raphael.

In 1917 Fischel catalogued this sheet as a work without much merit by an artist using motifs of Perugino about 1500, and though in the catalogue of the Oppenheimer sale in 1936 the drawing was listed under Perugino, the entry describing it repeated Fischel's classification. The drawing then went unnoticed until Szabo exhibited it in New York in 1978 as by Perugino himself (an attribution he repeated in his 1983 catalogue). Ferino Pagden cited it in three of her entries in the catalogue of the exhibition in Florence in 1982–83 as a copy after Raphael, but she gave no reasons for her opinion beyond saying that Raphael did studies of children for his paintings and that similar putti appear in his work.¹ There was an equally brief mention of the Lehman sheet in the catalogue of the Paris exhibition in 1983–84, where it was attributed to Perugino or his school and compared with a drawing in the Louvre that is attributed to Raphael. The putti on the Louvre sheet, which has a *Madonna and Child* on its recto, are much the same type as those in our drawing, but more loosely interpreted.²

Szabo was the first to suggest that these putti are taking part in a sort of *sacra rappresentazione*. His interpretation of the tree stump with a new branch supporting the infant Jesus and the small tablet – now inscribed *SPQR* but certainly originally intended to read *INRI* – as alluding to the Resurrection is much more plausible than the assumption that the putti are simply playing. The bird on the staff held by the putto at the far right, however, is not likely to represent the dove of the Holy Spirit, as Szabo suggested, because it faces away from Christ and because there are no other symbols of the Trinity; the odd-looking object may simply be a toy. The smaller putto stretched out at the bottom of the sheet in the pose of a classical river god (or an antique statue of Venus,

according to Fischel) is obviously not part of the same scene.

A similar reclining putto turns up in two drawings in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Besançon,³ and an older child in a similar pose appears on one of the sheets in the “Libretto di Raffaello,” or “Libretto veneziano,” in the Accademia, Venice.⁴ Our putto also recalls Adam in the *Creation of Eve* on the banner Raphael painted for Città di Castello in 1500 or shortly thereafter. As Ferino Pagden has noted, the right foot of the second putto from the right in our drawing is very much like the study of a foot on folio 20 of the “Libretto veneziano,”⁵ and Raphael used a similar foot for the young John the Baptist in his *Colonna Madonna* of about 1504–5 (Metropolitan Museum).⁶ In fact, our putto's entire pose recalls Raphael's infant Saint John.

Except that the head is tilted somewhat lower and the left leg is straighter, the pose of the Christ Child here brings to mind Raphael's *Solly Madonna* of 1500–1501 in the Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin,⁷ and the Louvre study *The Madonna and Child*, which is often cited in connection with the Berlin painting.⁸ The gestures of the arms and legs of this Child are repeated in another famous drawing by Raphael in the Louvre, *The Madonna and Child Enthroned Between Saints Sebastian and Roch*, though obviously with much greater liveliness and immediacy.⁹ This was clearly a stock figure often used and much varied by Umbrian artists. Among the many examples the closest parallel to our drawing is the almost identical (though in reverse) Christ Child in the altarpiece *The Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints* painted by Eusebio da San Giorgio in 1512 in the church of San Francesco in Matelica (Macerata).¹⁰

The Child in Perugino's *Madonna and Child* of 1500–1501 now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., is also similar to this one, but with variations; the infant in his *Nativity* in the Galleria Nazionale, Perugia, repeats to some extent the motif of our reclining putto but reversed; and putti like these appear in a number of his other paintings. Yet the somewhat dry quality of our drawing and the highly precise contours decisively rule out this being Perugino's own work. Those same characteristics may have led Ferino Pagden to conclude that this drawing is a copy rather than an original.

Because we cannot point to specific prototypes for either the putti or the unusual composition, it might be

better to think of our drawing, however much it is based on stock motifs, as a firsthand study by an Umbrian artist active in the early sixteenth century who was acquainted with the works of Raphael. Of the few known drawings of this type, the closest to ours is a pen and ink drawing of fourteen putti on the verso of a sheet in the Uffizi that has been attributed to the circle of Perugino.¹¹ But unfortunately the similarity is of no help in identifying the author of our drawing.

NOTES:

1. Ferino Pagden said the Lehman sheet was once in the Conestabile collection in Perugia. Although her contention is by no means improbable, there is no documentation to support it. The drawing's connection with the Thane collection is mentioned in the Heseltine catalogue of 1913.
2. Louvre, 3855; Fischel 1917, no. 43; Paris 1983–84a, nos. 7, 8. At the bottom of the verso of this drawing there is half of the head of a putto that is completed on the verso of another sheet in the Louvre (3881; Paris 1983–84a, nos. 9, 10). The Paris catalogue described the Lehman sheet as depicting six infants at play, the head faintly sketched in chalk in the center apparently being the sixth figure.
3. Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1886, 1887; photographs Gernsheim 6485, 6486.
4. Accademia, 41, with a *Portrait of Pietro d'Abano* on the verso; Florence 1982–83, no. 83/21, fig. 142; Venice 1984, no. 20, fol. 21.
5. Accademia, 40, with studies of three female heads on the

verso; Florence 1982–83, no. 83/20, fig. 140; Venice 1984, no. 19, fol. 20.

6. Metropolitan Museum, 16.30a, Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 147, vol. 2, ill. p. 97.
7. Paris 1983–84a, fig. 27.
8. Ibid., no. 7; see note 2 above.
9. Louvre, RF1395, with a fragment of a sketch of the Madonna nursing the Child on the verso; Fischel 1917, no. 45; Paris 1983–84a, nos. 13, 14.
10. Urbino 1983, no. 99.
11. Uffizi, 408E, with a *Study for a Saint Catherine* on the recto; Ferino Pagden in Florence 1982–83, no. 32, fig. 35 (as collaborator of Pietro Perugino [Berto di Giovanni?]). Ferino Pagden discussed other sheets attributed to Berto in *ibid.*, no. 26, and in Venice 1984, no. 57; see also Petrioli Tofani 1986–87, p. 182. The quite different way of handling the shading and delineating the contours would seem to eliminate Berto as a possible author of the Lehman sheet.

PROVENANCE: Conestabile, Perugia(?); J. Thane, London(?); William Esdaile, London (Lugt 2617); Esdaile sale 1840, June 18, lot 60; John Postle Heseltine, London (Lugt 1508); Henry Oppenheimer, London; Oppenheimer sale 1936, lot 136. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1936.

EXHIBITED: Poughkeepsie 1942–44; New York 1978, no. 29, ill.

LITERATURE: Heseltine 1913, no. 39, ill.; Fischel 1917, no. 180; Florence 1982–83, under nos. 32, 43, 83/20; Szabo 1983, no. 19, ill.; Paris 1983–84a, under no. 8; Venice 1984, under no. 19, fol. 20, fig. 53.

Pinturicchio

(Bernardino di Betto)

Perugia ca. 1454–Siena 1513

Born in Perugia, according to Vasari about 1454, Pinturicchio was enrolled in the painters' guild there in 1481. He probably studied with Caporali and Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, but his greatest debt was to Perugino, whose influence is evident even in Pinturicchio's last works. He is thought to have collaborated with Perugino on the frescoes in the Sistine Chapel in 1481–82, painting large parts of the *Baptism of Christ* and the *Journey of Moses and the Circumcision of the Second Born*, but he also probably worked with him on the earlier series of panels depicting the miracles of Saint Bernardino (Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia). Typical of the lively, ornate narrative style that was so admired by Pinturicchio's contemporaries are his frescoes in the Roman churches of Santa Maria del Popolo and Santa Maria in Aracoeli, which are not without Leonardesque echoes, and the celebrated decoration of the Borgia Apartments in the Vatican that he painted for Pope Alexander VI between 1492 and 1495.

During a short stay in Perugia after he left Rome Pinturicchio executed several commissions, among them the *Madonna and Saints* altarpiece for Santa Maria dei Fossi, now in the Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria. By 1502 he had established himself in Siena. Of his many works in Siena the most famous are the frescoes in the Libreria Piccolomini (1503–8), in which at least two of the scenes from the life of Enea Silvio Piccolomini (Pope Pius II) are based on preparatory drawings by the young Raphael.

With his charming facility for quasi-illusionistic narrative, his bright colors, and his taste for the ornamental and the antique, Pinturicchio popularized the more traditional side of late Quattrocento culture and won widespread success. To fulfill his many commissions he was forced to depend on a number of collaborators and assistants. Our knowledge of his graphic work is scanty. The attributions of many of the drawings traditionally thought to be his have not withstood more recent critical scrutiny, and many others are still being discussed.

Circle of Pinturicchio

76. A Kneeling Man in Fifteenth-Century Costume

1975.1.255

Metalpoint, heightened with white, reworked with the point of the brush and gray ink, on gray prepared paper. 153 x 102 mm.

Verso: At the top, a small, fragmentary sketch of a recumbent boy, probably by a later hand. Pen and brown ink.

Its manifestly Umbrian style and unusual type should have made this sheet of great interest to scholars. Yet it is virtually unknown, perhaps because it was not mentioned by Fischel in 1917 and so never found a place in the small body of literature on Umbrian drawings. In the only two places the drawing has been mentioned, the Grassi sale catalogue of 1924 and the catalogue of the New York exhibition of 1978, it was described as Umbrian of the late fifteenth century, possibly a study for a Saint Eustace. The figure's gesture, somewhere between surprise and adoration, and his secular attire would fit the huntsman-saint, but the subject is not common in

Umbrian art of the time. Berenson's suggestion that the figure might have been intended for a Crucifixion was a more likely guess.¹ But as it happens, neither hypothesis was correct. In a drawing in the British Museum depicting the clemency of Scipio (Fig. 76.1), this same figure appears as the captive maiden's father, kneeling at the left before Scipio's throne.²

The British Museum drawing is large (315 x 518 mm), and it was executed in metalpoint with white highlights and touches of brown wash on gray prepared paper. It is quite definitely a *modello* for a painting unfortunately still unknown, unless, as Kanter has suggested, it can be identified with the now-lost fresco of the same subject that Pinturicchio painted in the Palazzo Petrucci in Siena in 1509.³ In the late 1800s the drawing was attributed to Perugino and then to Pinturicchio, but some time after the turn of the century it was transferred to Alessandro Araldi. In 1950 Popham and Pouncey called it an original design by Pinturicchio, arguing that the composition



No. 76

is beyond the capacity of Araldi and that both it and the types of the figures are characteristic of Pinturicchio.

That our drawing is also Umbrian seems beyond doubt, but it is less fluent than the London drawing and lacks the elegance of the few sheets known to be from Pinturicchio's own hand.⁴ Nonetheless, it must be by an artist who was very close to the author of the London drawing, as it so carefully respects the entire conception of the figure. The similarity of the two figures, even in their proportions, suggests that our drawing is either a copy or a detail study by a collaborator. That so far as we know the figure was copied just this once – contrary to what was usual in Umbria – might imply either that the *modello* was

never realized in paint or that if it was, the painting was sent somewhere far from Umbria.

Although on the whole our drawing is somewhat rigid, the transitions between light and shade are delicately handled and the peculiarities of the figure – the hands; the full chin and thin nose; the broad, sloping shoulders; the long, bulging torso and small legs – show a concern for realistic detail. A roughly similar approach can be detected in the *Head of a Turk* attributable to Alessandro Araldi (Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden),⁵ the *Woman Seen from Behind* (a figure with a pointed nose and broad, drooping shoulders like these) by one of Perugino's collaborators (Uffizi, Florence),⁶ and two sheets also from

the Perugino school, one in the Uffizi,⁷ the other in the Louvre, Paris,⁸ that depict much-copied horsemen rendered in the same sort of long brushstrokes and with features that express a similar almost caricatural irony. The analogies are too vague to allow us to suggest that any of these drawings are by the same artist as our sheet, but we can bring its date forward to the first years of the sixteenth century, when the Perugino school – to which this drawing is so closely related – was well established.

NOTES:

1. Berenson wrote “for Crucifixion” on one of the many photographs of the drawing in the library at the Harvard Center for Renaissance Studies at Villa I Tatti, Florence. The photographs are all filed under Perugino, either as copies after Perugino or as “Umbrian school.”
2. London, British Museum, 1866.7.14.59; Popham and Pouncey 1950, no. 214, pl. 173. The photograph of this drawing is also filed under Perugino at I Tatti, but it is annotated “ascribed to Pinturicchio.”
3. Oral communication, 1988.
4. There have been few additions to our knowledge of the drawings of Pinturicchio since the by now remote research that Fischel published in 1917. Fischel’s decidedly composite corpus of Pinturicchio’s work has been rethought by Ferino Pagden (Florence 1982–83, no. 53), who tends to shift many of the sheets traditionally given to Pinturicchio toward the sphere of Perugino.
5. This drawing was attributed to Bellini until Fischel (1917, no. 153, ill.) recognized the head, along with the heads in several other drawings after Alessandro Araldi’s fresco *The Dispute of Saint Catherine*, formerly in Parma, as the work of an imitator of Perugino.
6. Uffizi, 364E, with two studies of hands on the verso; Florence 1982–83, no. 33, fig. 37. The sheet was formerly attributed to Perugino, but in the Florence catalogue Ferino Pagden ascribed it to a collaborator of his and alluded to the style of Eusebio da San Giorgio (see also Petrioli Tofani 1986–87; p. 162).
7. Uffizi, 1219E. This type of figure is repeated many times in paintings by Pinturicchio and Lo Spagna, and it also appears in drawings now in Christ Church, Oxford (O111; Byam Shaw 1976, no. 14, pl. 31), the Art Museum, Princeton University (48-773; Gibbons 1977, no. 479, ill.), and the British Museum (Popham and Pouncey 1950, no. 195, pl. 176).
8. Louvre, 3452; Fischel 1917, no. 164, fig. 74; Venice 1984, fig. 117 under no. 45 (with a discussion of the copies of one or both figures by artists of the Perugino and Raphael circles).

PROVENANCE: Luigi Grassi, Florence (Lugt Suppl. 1171b [upside down]); Frits Lugt, Paris; Grassi sale 1924, lot 141, ill. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1924.

EXHIBITED: Oberlin 1942–44; New York 1978, no. 31, ill.



Fig. 76.1 Attributed to Pinturicchio, *The Clemency of Scipio*. British Museum, London. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum



No. 77

Lo Spagna

(Giovanni di Pietro)

Spain(?) ca. 1450–Perugia 1528

How Lo Spagna came to be called “the Spaniard” is as uncertain as his birth date, which is traditionally set at 1450 even though nothing is known about him or his work before 1504, except that he may have worked in Rome at the Vatican with other painters from Umbria and the Marches, Perugino in particular. The *Christ Bearing the Cross* in the Monastero della Beata Colomba in Perugia and the *Agony in the Garden* in the National Gallery, London, two of the earliest works that can be attributed to him, demonstrate Lo Spagna’s lively interest in Perugino’s models and his ability to interpret them in a restrained yet personal way.

During the last two decades of his life Lo Spagna was much in demand in the Marches and Umbria. In 1517–19 he painted frescoes in the collegiate church of Santa Maria in Visso (Macerata), eighteen images of *beati* and saints that exploit his genuine talent as a portraitist. Also especially noteworthy is the *Coronation of the Virgin* he painted for the church of San Martino in Trevi (Perugia) in 1522 (now Pinacoteca Comunale, Trevi). The paintings of about 1524–27 in the church of San Giacomo in Spoleto and the drawings connected with them, which constitute the nucleus of his rather small graphic oeuvre, evince Lo Spagna’s increasing interest in Raphael’s late works, of which he gave us his own sensitive “popular” versions.

Lo Spagna

77. Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata

1975.1.396

Point of the brush and brown ink, heightened with white (partly oxidized), traces of black chalk, on paper washed with light brown. 182 x 138 mm. Retouched by a later hand in brush and grayish brown ink, mainly on the eyelids, mouth, neck, and left sleeve. Four minor restorations to the paper. Annotated in pen and brown ink in the lower left corner, perhaps in an eighteenth-century hand: *Gaddo Gaddi*; in pen and brown ink on the verso at the lower right in a seventeenth-century hand: *Pietro*.

It is strange that a drawing of such fine quality and indubitable interest should have been given so little attention until 1984, when Gualdi Sabatini included it in her catalogue of Lo Spagna’s works. Before that Szabo had ex-

hibited it in New York in 1978 as by an Umbrian artist of the second half of the fifteenth century, remarking only that it is essentially a drapery study and that it had formerly been attributed to Perugino. In his 1983 catalogue Szabo published only a photograph of this sheet.

The annotation *Pietro* on the verso is evidence of the earlier attribution to Perugino. The *Gaddo Gaddi* on the recto, obviously entirely irrelevant, was probably written by an eighteenth-century collector, perhaps an Italian, as the name is spelled correctly and refers to an artist who would not necessarily have been familiar to collectors of drawings, though he is mentioned by Italian biographers from Vasari to Baldinucci.¹ The attribution to Gaddi must have been suggested by the archaic iconography, which is vaguely derived from the canonical depictions of the legend by Giotto in his frescoes in Assisi and often repeated in early-sixteenth-century Umbrian art, for example by Eusebio da San Giorgio in his fresco of 1507 in the convent of San Damiano in Assisi.²

Berenson seems to have been the first to look in the direction Gualdi Sabatini has now taken to identify the artist responsible for this drawing.³ As Gualdi Sabatini has pointed out, Saint Francis kneels with his arms outstretched in this same pose in three of Lo Spagna’s paintings: the predella now in the Louvre, Paris, from the *Coronation of the Virgin* in the Pinacoteca Comunale, Todi; reversed, in the predella of the *Coronation of the Virgin* now in the Pinacoteca Comunale, Trevi; and, most notably, in the fresco from the pediment of the facade of the church of San Francesco al Monte (Monteripido) in Perugia and now in the Galleria Nazionale dell’Umbria there (Fig. 77.1). A similar kneeling figure, but with one hand on his heart and the other on his raised knee, appears in the lunette fresco with the Assumption of the Virgin that Lo Spagna painted in the convent of San Martino in Trevi in 1512.⁴

Most of Lo Spagna’s few known studies are in black chalk, pen, or metalpoint, often enriched with wash and white highlights, which he in fact often used to cover pentimenti.⁵ Not only was our figure rendered solely with a brush over light chalk outlines (though it must later have been reworked and retouched), but the white used to create the rich highlights in the drapery has a structural purpose. Because the hands and feet are scarcely



Fig. 77.1 Lo Spagna, *Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata*. Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia. Photograph: Soprintendenza per i Beni Ambientali Architettonici Artistici e Storici dell'Umbria, Perugia

more than indicated, this cannot be a *modello*, but it might well be a carefully finished study for a particular painting.

That painting is almost certainly the fresco *Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata* from the church of San Francesco al Monte in Perugia (Fig. 77.1), which was probably painted at the start of the sixteenth century and is now generally considered to be by Lo Spagna.⁶ Our figure and the figure in the painting differ very little, mostly in the folds of the robe, and though the hands are merely indicated here, they would have been placed exactly as in the fresco. In keeping with what was common practice in Umbrian workshops, including Raphael's, this drawing would doubtless have been preceded or followed by other studies, perhaps in pen or metalpoint, that would have contained the missing details, particularly the most important motif, the hands. Lo Spagna himself did detail studies of hands and heads, as we know from the sheet of studies by him now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.⁷

That this drawing is by Lo Spagna is further confirmed by the resemblance of the saint's face to the face of Saint Francis in his altarpiece *Madonna and Child with Saints*, dated 1516, in San Francesco, Assisi,⁸ and to the study of

a monastic saint in prayer that was sold at Sotheby's in 1972.⁹ The down-to-earth, anything but sophisticated approach, the tendency to thicken the outlines, the effective use of concentrated dark stains in the shadows to create the illusion of sunlight, and the predilection for oval heads with broad foreheads and individualized faces that Ferino Pagden saw in certain drawings by Lo Spagna are evident here as well.¹⁰

The somewhat rigid torso of the figure is also typical of Lo Spagna, as is the treatment of the play of light and shadow on the ample folds in the drapery that is really the subject of the drawing. These elements are also found in the *Christ Bearing the Cross* in the Monastero della Beata Colomba, Perugia, which has been attributed to Perugino and others but also often claimed for Lo Spagna.¹¹ Like our drawing, which is markedly painterly and clearly conceived with the effect of brushwork in mind, the unfinished painting belongs technically somewhere between painting and drawing. Our drawing also recalls Lo Spagna's *Head of a Man* in the Louvre,¹² but it is earlier and less Raphaellesque than that study and richer in echoes of Perugino — as would be expected in a drawing related to a fresco Lo Spagna painted in the first years of the sixteenth century.

NOTES:

1. Old photographs of the drawing show that it once had a mount of colored paper like those used by collectors in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. According to a note in the F.A.R.L. photograph files, Teodor de Wyzewa's mark (Lugt 2471) was once on the old mount. The mark is no longer visible.
2. Gualdi Sabatini 1984, fig. 345, discussed under no. 7.
3. A note in the Robert Lehman Collection files refers to Berenson's attribution of this drawing to Lo Spagna; in his library at the Harvard Center for Renaissance Studies at Villa I Tatti, Florence, the photograph is filed under both Perugino and Lo Spagna. In the catalogue of the sale at Sotheby's in 1924 it is classed as Umbrian, school of Perugino.
4. For these paintings, see Gualdi Sabatini 1984, nos. 13, 59, 7, 25, pls. 29, 132, 13, 45.
5. For Lo Spagna's drawings, see Florence 1982–83, nos. 39–43, and Gualdi Sabatini 1984, pp. 305ff.
6. Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, 353; Gualdi Sabatini 1984, no. 7, pl. 13; Santi 1985, no. 109, ill. The fresco has in the past been ascribed to the Perugino school, to Eusebio da San Giorgio, and to Giannicola di Paolo.
7. Ashmolean Museum, P.II.45 (recto and verso); Fischel 1917, nos. 126, 127, figs. 284, 285; Parker 1956, no. 45; Gualdi Sabatini 1984, nos. 91, 92, pls. 220–22. These are studies for details and figures in the *Madonna and Child with Saints* of 1513–16 from the Rocca in Spoleto, now in the Pinacoteca Comunale, Spoleto, and the *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Angels and Saints* of 1516 in San Francesco, Assisi.
8. Gualdi Sabatini 1984, no. 31, pl. 60.
9. Ibid., no. 60, pl. 133.
10. Especially relevant are the *Saint Cosmas* in the Teylers Museum, Haarlem (A5; Fischel 1917, no. 136, fig. 295; Gualdi Sabatini 1984, p. 328, pl. 315), which Fischel called a cartoon for a figure like those on the pilasters of the *Coronation of the Virgin* of 1507–11 now in the Pinacoteca Comunale, Todi (Gualdi Sabatini 1984, no. 11, pl. 22), and the *Agony in the Garden* and *Cupid* in the Uffizi, Florence (410E, 84S; Ferino Pagden in Florence 1982–83, nos. 39, 43 [also compared to our No. 75]).
11. Gualdi Sabatini 1984, no. 1, pls. 1, 2.
12. Louvre, 4375; Paris 1983–84b, no. 2; Gualdi Sabatini 1984, no. 88, pl. 217. The drawing has also been attributed to Raphael.

PROVENANCE: Teodor de Wyzewa, Paris(?); sale, Sotheby's, London, May 13, 1924, lot 47A (not in catalogue). Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1924.

EXHIBITED: Northampton (Mass.) 1942–44; New York 1978, no. 30, ill.

LITERATURE: Szabo 1983, p. 36, fig. 45; Gualdi Sabatini 1984, no. 89, pl. 218.

Sandro Botticelli

(Alessandro di Mariano Filipepi)

Florence 1444/45–Florence 1510

Botticelli was probably trained by Fra Filippo Lippi, and he may have acquired from Lippi his predilection for expressive outline. That he was influenced as well by the sculpture and painting of the Pollaiuolo and Verrocchio is clear in the *Fortitude* he painted in 1470 for the Tribunale dell'Arte di Mercanzia in Florence (one of a series of Seven Virtues now in the Uffizi, the other six painted by Piero Pollaiuolo) and the *Saint Sebastian* of 1473–74 now in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin.

Botticelli left Florence only once, in 1481–82 when he went to Rome to help decorate the walls of the Sistine Chapel. His patrons were the leading families of Florence, including the Medici, and his paintings of the 1470s or early 1480s – the two versions of the *Adoration of the Magi* (Uffizi, Florence, and National Gallery, London), with their numerous portraits of contemporaries, and

the *Primavera*, *Minerva and the Centaur*, and *Birth of Venus* (Uffizi, Florence) – mirror the sensibility of the humanist and Neoplatonic culture of the court of Lorenzo the Magnificent. The *Birth of Venus* already betrays the emotional tension that would become increasingly evident in Botticelli's religious paintings, such as the large altarpiece *Madonna and Child with Saints* of 1483 from San Barnaba (now in the Uffizi) and the *Madonna and Child with Two Saints* of 1485 from the Bardi Chapel in Santo Spirito (now in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin).

The political and religious turmoil that erupted in Florence with the death of Lorenzo in 1492, the expulsion of the Medici in 1494, and Savonarola's brief rise to power and then his execution in 1498 had its effect on Botticelli's art. He turned to religious or at least allegorical subjects realized with an extreme, almost convulsive drama that culminated in the *Mystic Nativity* of 1500 or 1501 (National Gallery, London), whose neomedieval mysticism contrasted polemically with the ideals of the new century.

Botticelli's famous series of outline drawings illustrating Dante's *Divine Comedy* probably dates from the 1490s. He also left many beautiful drawings in which a delicate line defines figures enhanced by subtle touches of watercolor and sfumato rendered with chalk.

Workshop of Sandro Botticelli

78. The Last Communion of Saint Jerome

1975.I.280

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, traces of black chalk. 159 x 197 mm. Annotated in pencil on the verso in a modern hand: 16 feb. 38. Louis d'or. / Weiss.



Fig. 78.1 Sandro Botticelli, *The Last Communion of Saint Jerome*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913 (14.40.642)

Despite the prestigious name it has borne and its good pedigree and indubitable historical interest, this drawing is very little known. Since Berenson classed it as a Botticelli school product it has seldom been exhibited and, with the sole exception of a brief mention in Olson's study of 1975, it has been ignored in the literature on Botticelli.

This is the only drawing among several versions and copies of the small painting on panel of this subject that



No. 78

was given to the Metropolitan Museum by Benjamin Altman in 1913 (Fig. 78.1).¹ In the nineteenth century, when it was still in Florence (where it was no doubt painted), the painting was attributed to Filippino Lippi and Andrea del Castagno, but by the time Altman purchased it in New York in 1912 it was widely regarded as a Botticelli. In 1915 Horne identified it as the painting cited in the first will, executed in February 1503, of Francesco del Pugliese, a wealthy Florentine wool mer-

chant and patron of the arts who was an ardent *piagnone* and supporter of Savonarola.² The will lists a *quadro* depicting the "transito di San Gerolamo di mano del detto Sandro." As Horne first noted in 1908, the painting illustrates the episode (the communion of the saint just before his death) as it is recounted in the apocryphal epistle of Eusebius published in Venice and Messina in 1473 and in Buonacorsi's *Life of Saint Jerome* in Florence in 1491.³ Botticelli therefore probably painted the



Fig. 78.2 Sandro Botticelli, *Saint Thomas*. Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan. Photograph: Giulio Bora, *I disegni del Codice Resta* (Milan: Silvana Editoriale d'Arte, 1978), no. 18, p. 14

panel sometime between 1491 and 1503. With its brilliant coloring and broad planes modulated by a few decisive, flowing lines, it quite certainly belongs to the Savonarolan phase of the artist's later years.

The drawing, certainly a contemporary copy, faithfully duplicates the central group of the painting, even in the odd proportions of the saint's large head and shrunken body. The facial planes have been simplified and the coverlet has been changed from fleece to cloth, but in everything else the copyist seems to have been attempting to reproduce the original as precisely as possible. The style, almost entirely linear with no more than a few parallel strokes to indicate shadows and a sparing use of wash, would seem to suggest that this may have been a preparatory drawing for an engraving. The same graphic treatment is found in a study in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan (Fig. 78.2),⁴ that must have been drawn by Botticelli himself for the Saint Thomas in the engraving *The Assumption of the Virgin*, which can be dated to the same period as the Metropolitan painting.⁵ But when it

is compared with the *Saint Thomas* our drawing begins to appear somewhat dry and its author rather inept at defining form and especially space – so much so, in fact, as to confirm the customary attribution not to the master but to the school. That the artist adhered so closely to Botticelli's style suggests that he was employed in Botticelli's own workshop, which is even more likely if this sheet was prepared for an engraving.⁶

Whatever the case, the drawing is an interesting illustration of the contemporary appreciation of a truly singular composition.

NOTES:

1. Metropolitan Museum, 14.40.642; Zeri and Gardner 1971, pp. 20–22, pl. 92 (with full bibliography); see also Lightbown 1978, pp. 120–22, 157–58, and Christiansen 1983, pp. 12–14. The several contemporary copies and versions attest to the considerable fame the painting must have enjoyed despite its small size (343 x 254 mm). One is in the Palazzo Balbi, Genoa; a second was in the Abdy collection, London (Horne [1908] 1986–87, pp. 403–4), and the Benson collection, London; a third, from the collection of A. Kay, Edinburgh, was on the art market in Paris in 1953; and a fourth, a reworked version of the subject with many variations in a predella by Bartolommeo di Giovanni, was in the Pallavicini collection, Rome.
2. See Horne 1915a and b.
3. Horne (1908) 1986–87, pp. 174ff.
4. Biblioteca Ambrosiana, cod. Resta; Berenson 1961, no. 569; Bora 1978, no. 18, p. 14.
5. Bartsch XIII.4.86; Hind 1938–48, vol. 1, no. 10, attributed to an anonymous Florentine and to Francesco Rosselli.
6. In view of the few variations from the painting it cannot be ruled out that this may be a copy not of the painting but of a (lost) preparatory drawing by Botticelli.

PROVENANCE: A. Bourdige, France (Lugt 70); J. W. Nahl, Kassel (Lugt 1954); Edward Habich, Kassel (Lugt 862); Habich sale 1899, lot 114; William Bateson, Merton House, Granchester near Cambridge (Lugt 2604a); Bateson sale 1929, lot 10; Weiss(?); [E. Parsons and Sons, London]. Acquired by Robert Lehman from Parsons and Sons on September 11, 1929.

EXHIBITED: Poughkeepsie 1942–44; Cincinnati 1959, no. 210, ill.; New York 1978, no. 26, ill.

LITERATURE: Berenson 1961, no. 580A, fig. 199; Zeri and Gardner 1971, p. 21; Olson 1975, p. 450, n. 23; Szabo 1983, p. 70, fig. 44.

Domenico Ghirlandaio

(Domenico di Tommaso Bigordi)

Florence ca. 1448–Florence 1494

Domenico Ghirlandaio headed a highly successful workshop in Florence in the last quarter of the fifteenth century that included his brothers David and Benedetto, his brother-in-law Sebastiano Mainardi, and eventually his son Ridolfo. In the late 1480s Michelangelo served a three-year apprenticeship under Domenico. Through numerous followers and imitators the Ghirlandaio workshop continued to spread Domenico's influence and promote his works well into the first decades of the new century.

Domenico, who may have been a pupil of Baldovinetti's, became a highly competent and much-sought-after interpreter of the finest aspects of central Italian, particularly Florentine, culture and society of his time. Whatever the subject, whether sacred or profane, Domenico interpreted it in a graceful, fluent narrative and with an eye for the fashions and manners of the nobility and wealthy middle class of late-fifteenth-century Florence, though nothing in his lively imagery hints at the crises then rocking the city. Domenico's altarpieces and portraits, and especially his fresco cycles, are filled with careful but rather simplified reworkings of the personal idioms of Baldovinetti and Verrocchio, Filippino Lippi and the Pollaiuolo, Botticelli and Perugino, as well as the Flemish artists of the time. Many of Domenico's major works are frescoes. Early in his career, about 1475, he painted *The Life of Santa Fina* in the Collegiata of San Gimignano. In 1481–82 he helped decorate the Sistine Chapel in Rome, where he also worked on various other occasions. Many of his frescoes survive in Florence, among them the justly famous cycles in the Sassetti Chapel in Santa Trinita, completed in 1486, and the choir of Santa Maria Novella, which was commissioned by Giovanni Tornabuoni and executed, with the considerable participation of the workshop, between 1486 and 1490.

A great many drawings can be ascribed to the Ghirlandaio workshop or, in certain clear-cut cases, to Domenico himself. Although they are highly diversified in technique and subject, the drawings all evince a precision of workmanship and observation, and although they are often characterized by a degree of routine verging on the academic, they continued to be appreciated to the end of the sixteenth century.

Circle of Domenico Ghirlandaio

79. Head of a Man Wearing a Cap

1975.I.329

Metalpoint, heightened with brush and white, on reddish orange prepared paper. 283 x 208 mm. Laid down. Annotated on the verso on the backing paper in pencil: *Coll Th Lawrence / N^o. 7*; in another hand: *Ghirlandajo No 7 and Heyl zu Hemsheim*.

Understandably so, this drawing struck Popham as "something of a puzzle" when he published it in 1938, while it was in the Jowett collection. Its old attribution to Fra Filippo Lippi, Popham said, was "not entirely irrelevant," but despite his doubts he did retain what he believed to be Berenson's earlier attribution to Domenico Ghirlandaio.¹ When Berenson brought out the new edition of his *Drawings of the Florentine Painters* that same year, however, he placed this sheet in the group of drawings he had assembled under the name of the artist he called "David Ghirlandaio." That designation remained unchanged for our drawing in the 1961 edition of Berenson and – unlike Berenson's grouping of drawings and his attribution of them² – has not since been challenged.

The Ghirlandesque elements in this drawing are plain. Heads of this general style and type are amply represented in the frescoes the mature Domenico and his collaborators painted in, for example, the Sistine Chapel in 1481–82 (the *Calling of Saints Peter and Andrew*), the Sassetti Chapel in Santa Trinita in Florence in 1483–86 (notably the *Miracle of the Child of the French Notary*), and the choir of Santa Maria Novella in Florence in 1486–90 (particularly the *Sacrifice of Joachim*). Yet our drawing seems closer to Filippino Lippi's work than to Domenico's comparatively numerous drawings in metalpoint – the studies at Windsor³ and Chatsworth⁴ for the *Birth of the Virgin* in Santa Maria Novella, for instance, or the famous study in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm,⁵ for the grandfather in the *Old Man with a Child* in the Louvre. Filippino's name appears on an old label on the photograph of this drawing in the Berenson library at the Harvard Center for Renaissance Studies at Villa I Tatti, Florence. And at first glance that name does not seem inappropriate for our portrait. The tousled hair and the vibrant contours of the facial planes do recall Filippino. On the whole, however, the drawing lacks his characteristic verve and dash: the general tone is too stiff, the expression somewhat too mournful, and the line too delicate and repetitious, too painstakingly and literally interwoven. The portrait is more specific and minutely detailed, almost Flemish, than Filippino's portraits, and

it is certainly later than most of his work, indeed already of the new century.

There may be some validity in the hypothesis that the author is David Ghirlandaio, Domenico's heir, whose work often falls somewhere between his brother's and Filippino's. Yet David is still relatively obscure, both as a draftsman and as a painter, largely because his share in the close cooperation between him and his brother Domenico – chief of the studio – remains far from clear. The few paintings assuredly from David's hand are not of the same level as the brilliant group of drawings Berenson constructed around his name in 1938. His mosaics – or more accurately the mosaics executed from his designs – are more securely attributable, but as is usually the case, the cartoons did not outlast their immediate use.

Though we are slowly becoming better acquainted with Domenico's other collaborators as painters, they remain little known as draftsmen. In 1975, when he had been studying Ghirlandaio and his associates for over a decade, Fahy remarked that he was "puzzled by [this] study of a man's head given to David Ghirlandaio." "Something about the technique," he said, "makes me wonder if it could not be by a later artist, looking back at a fifteenth-century model."⁶ If we do not wish to risk unsupported attributions, a great many such Florentine drawings seem destined to remain anonymous, for the present at any rate. Given the complex interrelationships, unless we can pin down precise correlations between drawings and paintings it is almost impossible to identify the hands of the collaborators of the leaders of the different schools – Ghirlandaio and Filippino, Botticelli and Lorenzo di Credi – in works that vary so little in approach or technique.

Consideration of physiognomic likenesses leads to further hypothetical connections. Among those Florentine sheets, most of which were drawn from live models posed either nude, draped, or in contemporary clothing,⁷ are several portraits of subjects of a similar physical type that are not too different in style from this sheet (though the Lehman drawing is more finished and more polished, almost frozen in its excessive concentration on details of physiognomy). One might compare our drawing with, for instance, the *Head of an Old Man* and *Head of a Boy in a Cap* in the Musée Condé, Chantilly;⁸ the *Head of a Youth in Three-Quarter Profile* in the Louvre, Paris;⁹ the *Busts of a Man and a Boy* in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin;¹⁰ and especially the *Head of a Soldier* in the Uffizi,¹¹ which is a study for David's *Resurrection* of 1494 in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, and thus one of the few draw-

ings more securely attributed to him. In physical type the man in our drawing also resembles a number of studies of heads in the David-Filippino group; the same man seems in fact to have posed for the *Seated Man Wearing a Cap and a Mantle* in the Louvre (Fig. 79.1).¹²

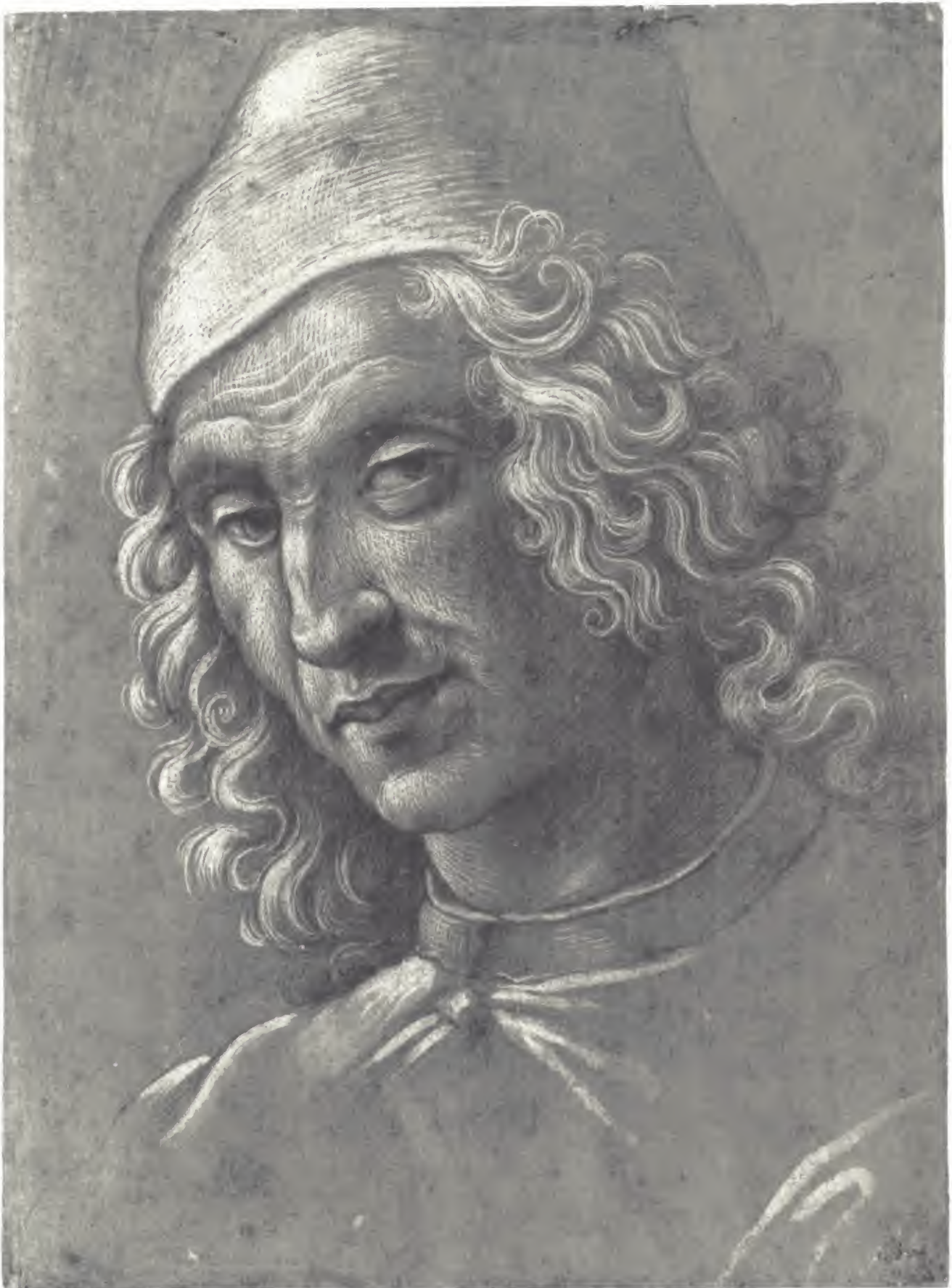
But neither stylistic similarities nor physiognomic relationships bring us closer to an attribution for this drawing beyond allowing us to assign it to the vast and productive circle of Domenico Ghirlandaio.¹³

NOTES:

1. The drawing was attributed to Filippo Lippi at the Heyl zu Herrnsheim sale in 1903. In the catalogue of the Czeczowiczka sale in 1930 it is ascribed, it seems on Berenson's authority, to Domenico Ghirlandaio. Note too that "Lawrence(?)" was listed in the drawing's provenance for the first time in the Czeczowiczka sale catalogue.
2. See Grassi [1961], Pouncey 1964, Chiarini 1968, and Ragghianti and Dalli Regoli 1975 (who cite the Lehman drawing as in need of special consideration).



Fig. 79.1 Circle of Ghirlandaio, *Seated Man Wearing a Cap and a Mantle*. Musée du Louvre, Paris. Photograph: Réunion des Musées Nationaux



No. 79

3. Royal Library, Windsor Castle, 12804, *Head of an Old Woman*; Popham and Wilde (1949) 1984, no. 9, pl. 8; Berenson 1961, no. 893, figs. 284, 285, 287 (the painting).
4. Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth Settlement, *Head of a Woman*; Berenson 1961, no. 866, figs. 283, 285, 287 (the painting).
5. Ibid., no. 890B, figs. 296, 297 (the Louvre painting).
6. Letter from Everett Fahy to Szabo, August 21, 1975 (Robert Lehman Collection files). Fahy's study ([1968] 1976) contributed much to our understanding of the paintings from the Ghirlandaio circle.
7. Many of these drawings were catalogued and assembled in more or less plausible and verifiable groups by Ragghianti and Dalli Regoli in 1975.
8. Musée Condé, 12, 7; Berenson 1961, nos. 865 (as Domenico Ghirlandaio), 1274 (as Filippino Lippi). The *Head of an Old Man* had in the past been ascribed to Lorenzo di Credi.
9. Louvre, 2674; ibid., no. 887 (as Domenico Ghirlandaio, with echoes of Botticelli and Filippino); Ragghianti and Dalli Regoli 1975, no. 114 (as their group B1, close to Filippino Lippi).
10. Kupferstichkabinett, 457 (with three male figures on the verso); Berenson 1961, no. 772, fig. 303 (as David Ghirlandaio).
11. Uffizi, 695; ibid., no. 835, figs. 311, 312 (the painting).
12. Louvre, 2348; ibid., no. 854 (as David Ghirlandaio); Ragghianti and Dalli Regoli 1975, no. 140 (their group B3, close to Filippino Lippi).
13. The unquestionable similarity between the model of our drawing and the sitter for the painting *Portrait of an Unknown Youth* in the Uffizi (Uffizi catalogue 1979, no. P.703 [as Ridolfo del Ghirlandaio]) leads only to a vague assumption that both the sitters and their portraitists may have been related.

PROVENANCE: Thomas Lawrence, London(?); William Mayor, London (Lugt 2799); Max von Heyl zu Herrnsheim, Darmstadt (Lugt 2879); Heyl zu Herrnsheim sale 1903, lot 184, ill.; Dr. Güterbock; Edwin Czezowiczka, Vienna; Czezowiczka sale 1930, lot 78, ill.; Alfred Jowett, Killinghall, Harrogate, Yorkshire; Jowett sale 1948, lot 3, ill. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1948(?).

EXHIBITED: Paris 1957, no. 100; Cincinnati 1959, no. 207, ill.; New Haven 1960, no. 155, ill.; New York 1978, no. 35, ill.

LITERATURE: Mayor 1871, no. 7; Mayor 1875, no. 7; Lugt 1921, p. 533; Berenson 1938, no. 835F, fig. 350; Popham 1938, p. 133; Berenson 1961, no. 852C; Ragghianti and Dalli Regoli 1975, p. 141.

Leonardo da Vinci

Vinci 1452–Amboise 1519

It is known that in 1476, four years after he had matriculated in the Florentine Painters' Guild, Leonardo was living in the house of Andrea Verrocchio, and it is assumed that he was trained by him, as Vasari said. Leonardo's reputation must have been fairly well established by 1481, when the monks of San Donato a Scopeto, near Florence, commissioned him to paint the *Adoration of the Magi* now in the Uffizi. The painting was never finished, but it remains the first great witness of his extraordinary talent as a draftsman.

Leonardo is next documented in Milan in 1483, the year he began the *Virgin of the Rocks*. In Milan he worked mainly as artist and architectural and engineering adviser at the court of Duke Ludovico Sforza, and he spent several years designing an equestrian monument to Ludovico's father, Francesco, that was never realized (see No. 69). Toward the end of this first sojourn in Milan, from about 1495 to 1497, Leonardo painted *The Last Supper* in the refectory of the monastery of Santa Maria delle Grazie.

When the French invaded Milan in 1499 Leonardo left the city and returned to Florence, arriving in April 1500. In 1503 the city of Florence commissioned him and his rival Michelangelo to create two large frescoes in the Council Chamber of the Palazzo della Signoria to celebrate Florentine victories. Leonardo's *Battle of Anghiari* was never completed and was later painted over. He was also at the time working on various versions of the *Virgin and Child with Saint Anne*. The cartoon for the painting, a monochrome drawing in black and white chalk, was greatly admired at the time for its audacious composition and treatment of light and shadow. The *Mona Lisa* dates to these years in Florence as well.

Leonardo returned to French-ruled Milan in 1506 and remained there until 1513, when he left for Rome. He spent four years in Rome, living in the Vatican, before he was called to France by Francis I to become chief architect and painter at the court at Cloux, near Amboise. When he died in 1519 he was living at Cloux in the château given him by the king.

As painter, scientist, engineer, and theorist, Leonardo produced thousands of drawings, the finest of which are preserved in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle.



No. 80

Leonardo da Vinci

80. A Bear Walking

1976.I.369

Metalpoint on light buff prepared paper. 103 x 133 mm. Laid down. Upper right corner made up.

In Leonardo's many studies of animals, bears appear comparatively rarely. But he did concern himself with bears in his writings, in anatomical studies, and in a few drawings, of which this is the most elaborate and impressive.

When Leonardo described the Valtellina region during his first stay in Milan about 1490–93, he recounted how hunters in the Chiavenna valley “with great ingenuity” devised ways “to cast the bears down those steep cliffs.”¹ And one of the fables he copied in about 1494 from *Fiore di virtù*, a popular collection of the Bestiaries of the “Physiologus” that was published in Venice in 1488, features the bear as the personification of rage:

It is said of the bear that when it goes to the hives of bees to take their honey, the bees having begun to sting him he leaves the honey and rushes to revenge himself. And as he seeks to be revenged on all those that sting him, he is revenged on none; in such wise that his rage is turned to madness, and he flings himself on the ground, vainly exasperating, by his hands and feet, the foes against which he is defending himself.²

Leonardo also mentioned bears in his notes for his anatomical treatise: “I will discourse of the hands of each animal to show in what they vary; as in the bear which has the ligatures of the toes joined above the instep.”³ And again: “Here is to be depicted the foot of the bear or ape or other animals to show how they vary from the foot of man or, say, the feet of certain birds.”⁴ It was probably for his anatomical treatise that he produced

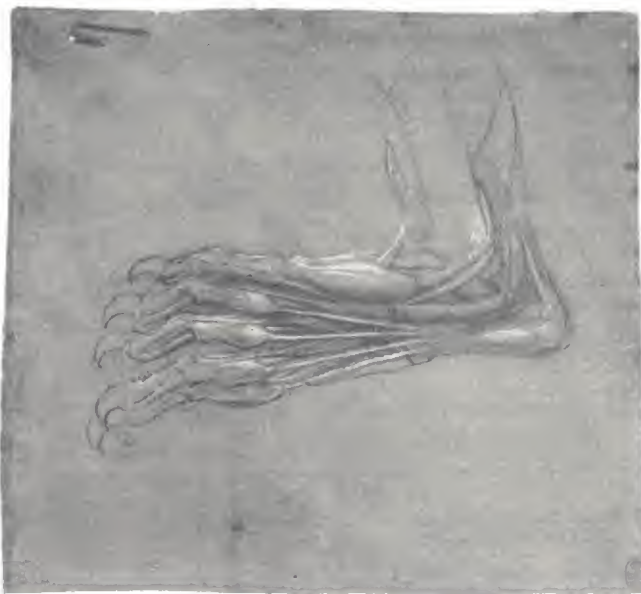


Fig. 80.1 Leonardo da Vinci, *Study of the Hind Foot of a Bear*. Royal Library, Windsor Castle, copyright 1990 Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II

the four drawings now at Windsor of the dissected rear leg and paw of a bear (Fig. 80.1).⁵ As Bean and Stampfle noted in the catalogue of the New York exhibition of 1965–66, there are other studies of bears in the *Codex Atlanticus* in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan,⁶ and a bear appears in Leonardo's *Allegory* in the Louvre, Paris.⁷

The exceptional drawing *A Bear Walking* in the Robert Lehman Collection and three other studies by Leonardo of a bear's (or a wolf's or dog's?) paws and head (Figs. 80.2, 80.3)⁸ were owned by the English painter and collector Sir Thomas Lawrence early in the nineteenth century. The three sheets were later acquired by Samuel Woodburn and in 1860, after Woodburn's death, were sold at Christie's in London. Whereupon they disappeared. The sheet with paws, drawn on both sides, and the study of a bear's head turned up at an exhibition at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1937. When Popham reviewed the exhibition in the February issue of the *Burlington Magazine*, he singled out the two sheets, which had been lent by Captain Norman Colville of London, as "marvellous examples of Leonardo's precise and searching draughtsmanship." He regretted that a companion study of a bear walking, which had "not inappropriately found a home in Berne, could not have been exhibited alongside." The next month, in the March issue of *Old Mas-*



Fig. 80.2 Leonardo da Vinci, *Studies of the Paws of a Bear or a Wolf(?)* (recto and verso). Private collection

ter Drawings, Clark published a note on *A Bear Walking*, then in the collection of Ludwig Rosenthal, Bern.⁹

Ames-Lewis and Wright's characterization of the study of a bear's head in the Colville collection as a demonstration of Leonardo's "ability to bring hitherto unparalleled variety to the traditionally inflexible silverpoint technique" also applies to our drawing. Here, too, Leonardo used "a rapid, widely spaced series of ticks which follow the shape of the anatomy" for the finer, short fur on the bear's forehead and "longer, more densely grouped, and more intensely worked, flowing lines [to] describe with great accuracy the thicker, tousled coat around the ears and neck."¹⁰ Such keen observation and careful rendering could only have been achieved in a study from life. Leonardo may have examined a dissected animal's hide and fur, but he must also have studied the movements of a live bear, perhaps a captive specimen.

Both Popham and Clark proposed that Leonardo drew the live bear's paws and head about 1490, around the same time he did the four anatomical studies at Windsor and shortly after he wrote about the bear in his notes for his anatomical treatise.¹¹ In 1937 Clark dated the anatomies about 1490 and thought our study might be a year or two earlier; in 1968 he and Pedretti considered the anatomical studies datable about 1490–92 and described the Lehman drawing as in the same style as Leonardo's first studies for the Sforza Monument (see No. 69), which they believed were done sometime between 1485 and 1490.

The faint sketch of a seated nude woman with a large abdomen that can be made out beneath the bear on our sheet matches no other figure Leonardo drew or painted. Szabo has proposed that by superimposing a drawing of a bear on a sketch of a nude pregnant woman Leonardo may actually have been alluding to the bear's role as a symbol not only of ire and violence but also of lust, or perhaps to the story of the nymph Callisto, whom Diana changed into a bear after she bore Jupiter's son Arcus. It is of course not impossible that such allusions crossed Leonardo's cultivated and complex mind when he combined the two subjects on one sheet. Be that as it may, the sketchiness of the female figure and the fact that it is half concealed not only by the much more precise and more finished drawing of the bear but also by the preparation of the paper itself make it more likely that he was merely reusing the sheet. It was a common enough practice: generations of artists before Leonardo drew and redrew on tablets or sheets of paper covered with a mixture of pulverized bone and glue, and his immediate predecessors had done the same with metalpoint on prepared paper.



Fig. 80.3 Leonardo da Vinci, *Head of a Bear*. Private collection

NOTES:

1. Biblioteca Ambrosiana, *Codex Atlanticus*, fol. 214r; Leonardo da Vinci 1894–1904, p. 755e; Clark and Pedretti 1968–69, vol. 1, p. 52, under no. 12372: "con grande ingegno per fare traboccare gli orsi giu per esse ripe."
2. Royal Library, Windsor Castle, Manuscript H.I, fol. 6r; Richter (1883) 1970, vol. 2, no. 1222, p. 262; De Toni 1922, p. 58: "Dell'orso si dice che quando va alle case delle ave per torre loro il mele esse ave cominciano a pungiere onde lui lasci a il mele e corre alla vendetta, e volendosi con tutte quelle che lo mordano vendicare con nessuna si vendica in modo che nella sua via si converte in rabbia e gittatosi in terra colle mani e co' piedi i naspando indarno da quelle si difende."
3. Royal Library, Windsor Castle, Anatomical Manuscript C.I, fol. 2r; De Toni 1922, p. 145; Clark and Pedretti 1968–69, vol. 3, no. 19061; Keele and Pedretti 1978–80, vol. 3, no. 154r: "Farai poi un discorso delle mani di ciascun animale per mostrare in che si variano come nell'orso che agiugne la legatura delle corde de' diti del piè sopra il collo d'esso piè."
4. Royal Library, Windsor Castle, Anatomical Manuscript A, fol. 17r; De Toni 1922, p. 147; Clark and Pedretti 1968–69, vol. 3, no. 19016; Keele and Pedretti 1978–80, vol. 3, no. 150r: "figura qui il piede dell'orso o scimia o altri animali, in quel che si variano dal piè dell'omo o ancora poni li piedi d'alcuno uccello." Clark and Pedretti date the sheet in Manuscript C to 1508–9, the one in Manuscript A to 1510 (on the basis of Leonardo's note on the sheet). De Toni (1922) dated both notes to 1489.

5. Royal Library, Windsor Castle, 12372–75; Wright 1919; Clark and Pedretti 1968–69, vol. 1, p. 52, ill.
6. Biblioteca Ambrosiana, *Codex Atlanticus*, fols. 98r, 170r, 353v; Leonardo da Vinci 1894–1904, pls. 296, 553, 1194.
7. Louvre, 2247; Popham (1946) 1949, no. 110A; Berenson 1961, no. 1064.
8. Popham 1937, p. 87, pls. A–C; Popham (1946) 1949, nos. 78A, 79A, B; Berenson 1961, nos. 1044B, C.
9. Ludwig Rosenthal of Bern later became L. V. Randall of Montreal. In 1946 Popham discussed our drawing as in the collection of Ludwig Rosenthal, Canada; in 1961 Berenson was still listing it under Bern.
10. London–Nottingham 1983, no. 8, colorpl. 3.
11. Both Popham and Clark also suggested that all six drawings represent the same animal, an interesting supposition but not much more than that. As Clark himself recognized, Leonardo could have seen several bears, alive and dead, in Lombardy in those years.

PROVENANCE: Thomas Lawrence, London (Lugt 2445); Samuel Woodburn, London; Lawrence–Woodburn sale 1860, June 8, lot 1038; private collection, England; [P. and D. Colnaghi and Co., London]; Ludwig Rosenthal, Bern (later L. V. Randall, Montreal); [Schaeffer Galleries, New York]. Acquired by Robert Lehman from Schaeffer Galleries in February 1945.

EXHIBITED: Philadelphia 1950–51, no. 22, ill.; London 1952, no. 41; Paris 1957, no. 106, pl. 51; Cincinnati 1959, no. 206, ill.; New York 1962, pl. 5; New York 1965–66, no. 18, ill.; New York 1978, no. 27, ill.

LITERATURE: Clark 1937, ill.; Popham 1937, p. 87; Berenson 1938, no. 1010J; Popham (1946) 1949, no. 78B; Cetto 1950, p. 15; Goldscheider 1959, pl. 101; Berenson 1961, no. 1049E; Schaeffer catalogue 1961, p. 27, ill.; Pouncey 1964, p. 286; Clark and Pedretti 1968–69, vol. 1, under no. 12372, p. 52; Szabo 1975, p. 103, pl. 174; Szabo 1983, no. 17, ill.

Lorenzo di Credi

(Lorenzo Barducci)

Florence ca. 1459–Florence 1537

Lorenzo Barducci, called Lorenzo di Credi after an uncle, was born into a family of goldsmiths. He is recorded as a painter in Verrocchio's workshop in 1480/81, and he remained there until Verrocchio died in 1488. In 1478–85 Lorenzo worked on the altarpiece *The Madonna and Child with Two Saints*, which the cathedral of Pistoia commissioned from the Verrocchio workshop. The *Adoration of the Shepherds* now in the Uffizi, Florence, is characteristic of his later period. He may have been a sculptor as well.

When one considers the course of his career and the artists with whom he was associated, Lorenzo's style presents no surprises. He began by emulating Verrocchio and especially Leonardo and Perugino, who had both also worked in Verrocchio's shop. Like other Florentine artists toward the end of the fifteenth century, he was influenced as well by Flemish art. But what was deeply and truly his own are the grace and a certain probity and polish that Vasari noted and appreciated and that mark everything Lorenzo set his hand to. Those qualities are also apparent in his numerous drawings, which are predominantly drapery studies and preparatory sketches for paintings, often executed in the by then outmoded technique of metalpoint on prepared paper.

Lorenzo di Credi(?)

81. Head of a Young Woman

1975.I.413

Metalpoint, heightened with white, on pink prepared paper. Profile retouched in brownish chalk, hair retouched in black chalk, and highlights added to bust, all by a later hand. Diameter 148 mm. Laid down. Trimmed to a circle and a pen and ink frame added at the edge.

In more than one respect this is one of the most intriguing drawings in the Robert Lehman Collection. The sheet's condition makes judging it difficult. Little of the original linework can be made out under the later retouching of the profile, the white strokes on the garment may also be later additions, and there is evidence of corrections in the hair.¹ Nonetheless, there is something very unsatis-



No. 81

factory about the attribution to Raffaellino del Garbo that Berenson gave the drawing in 1903, when it was in the Heseltine collection, and that has been repeated as recently as 1983, when Szabo last catalogued it.

Two tondos, one in a private collection in Florence, the other formerly in the Nash Foggin collection, both depicting the mystic marriage of Saint Catherine, might lead us to the circle of Raffaellino del Garbo,² particularly as they have much in common with the *Virgin and Child with Saint Catherine and the Magdalene*, a drawing in Christ Church, Oxford, that has been attributed to Raffaellino and in which the Magdalene's head is similar in type to ours.³ Yet our drawing lacks the firm, com-

pact line typical of Raffaellino (see No. 83); the hand here seems more nervous, somewhat reminiscent of Filippino Lippi. Then too, whereas Raffaellino preferred more unequivocal three-quarter or full-profile views, Lorenzo di Credi often chose poses like this near profile.

Indeed, similar types of heads appear in paintings attributed to Lorenzo di Credi or his school. Our drawing recalls, for example, the Virgin in Lorenzo's *Adoration of the Child* in the Accademia, Florence.⁴ The Virgin in his *Madonna and Child* in the Cleveland Museum of Art (Fig. 81.1)⁵ also has a head very much like this one, although the young woman portrayed here wears her hair in a looser, rather more worldly fashion. The figures of



Fig. 81.1 Lorenzo di Credi, *Madonna and Child*. Cleveland Museum of Art, The Holden Collection

the Virgin in the *Madonna in Adoration* in a Swiss private collection⁶ and in the *Holy Family with Angels* in the Musée Fabre, Montpellier,⁷ relate to our head as well. Comparisons can also be made with Lorenzo's drawings: the *Head of a Young Saint* formerly in the Mariette, Böhler, and Koenigs collections and now in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam (Fig. 81.2);⁸ the *Head of a Young Man* from the same collections but now lost (Fig. 81.3);⁹ the *Head of a Boy Looking Down* and *Head of a Boy* in the Louvre, Paris;¹⁰ and the Virgin in an *Annunciation* at Windsor.¹¹ The *Head of a Youth* and *Head of a Woman* in the Uffizi, which Berenson catalogued under "Raffaele dei Carli" and Filippino Lippi, respectively, are among the drawings attributed to the same milieu that have some relation to ours in technique and theme.¹²

No less complicated is the question of the sheet's provenance. Quite certainly the drawing was in the collections of Thomas Dimsdale (1758–1823) and J. P. Heseltine (1843–1929), whose owners' marks it bears. We also know that it was owned by Henry Oppenheimer. When Oppenheimer's collection was sold in 1936 the catalogue



Fig. 81.2 Lorenzo di Credi, *Head of a Young Saint*. Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam



Fig. 81.3 Lorenzo di Credi, *Head of a Young Man*. Formerly Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam

listed this drawing as "(?) Raffaellino del Garbo," noted that Berenson had attributed it to Raffaellino, and gave its provenance as "(?) Vasari, Mariette, Dimsdale, Barker and J. P. Heseltine collections." In the course of his initial reconstruction of Vasari's *Libro* and aware of the tentative reference to Vasari in the Oppenheimer catalogue, Kurz supposed that this drawing, along with the *Head of an Angel* in the Albertina, once belonged to Vasari's album of drawings. Without further comment, Kurz quoted the entry in the catalogue of the Mariette sale of 1775–76, describing, under the name of Raffaellino del Garbo, "Four Studies of Figures and Heads, in bistre, heightened with white, from the Collection of Vasari."¹³ Neither of those claims, which were also accepted by Ragghianti Collobi, can be proved. Moreover, it is unlikely that the entry in the Mariette catalogue describes this drawing, as it mentions neither metalpoint nor black chalk and even omits a reference to the rather exceptional rose-colored preparation of the paper. The drawing, and its attribution to Raffaellino, is therefore deprived of the venerable testimony and authority of Mariette (and Vasari).

Scholars have in fact seemed to concern themselves with this sheet more for its role in the history of collecting than for its style. A good deal of uncertainty still clouds the study of Florentine drawings of this type, particularly when they are in a state like this sheet's and when they have been retouched by later hands. Because of the difficulty of comparing it with other drawings of assured attribution, we can conclude only that our drawing seems more likely to be by Lorenzo di Credi, or at least one of his direct imitators, than by Raffaellino.

NOTES:

1. A report prepared in 1965, when the drawing was at the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York for conservation and remounting (Robert Lehman Collection files), describes the probable restorations of the drawing, perhaps going back as far as the eighteenth century.
2. In the photograph collection at the Harvard Center for Renaissance Studies at Villa I Tatti, Florence, the photograph of the painting in Florence, *The Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine, with the Young John the Baptist and Saint Mary Magdalene*, is annotated, "faked up Raffaellino del Garbo."
3. Christ Church Library, 0051; Berenson 1961, no. 768, fig. 248; Byam Shaw 1976, no. 47, pl. 48 (as Raffaellino del Garbo). Berenson incorrectly connected this drawing with the tondo in the National Gallery, London (see Berenson 1961, under no. 768, fig. 249).
4. Dalli Regoli 1966, no. 97, fig. 144.
5. Cleveland Museum of Art, 16.826; *ibid.*, no. 8, fig. 11; Cleveland 1971, no. 11, ill.
6. Horster 1978, fig. 1.
7. Dalli Regoli 1966, no. 237, fig. 268 (as by the Master of the *Conversazione di Santo Spirito* [Giovanni Cianfanini?]).
8. Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, 1.467; Berenson 1961, no. 728C; Dalli Regoli 1966, no. 154, fig. 204.
9. Dalli Regoli 1966, no. 110, fig. 138. (The drawing, which is also on reddish prepared paper, is now lost; it is reproduced in color in Elen and Voorthuis 1989, no. 334, pl. 9. — ED.)
10. Louvre, 2675, 1784; Dalli Regoli 1966, nos. 46, 62, figs. 92, 101.
11. Royal Library, Windsor Castle, 087; Popham and Wilde (1949) 1984, no. 6, fig. 2; Dalli Regoli 1966, no. 146, figs. 189, 192.
12. Uffizi, 220F, 161F; Berenson 1961, nos. 631 (as Raffaele dei Carli), 1326G (as Filippino Lippi).
13. Mariette sale 1775–76, p. 68, lot 424, quoted in Kurz 1937, p. 34: "GARBO. (Raphael del) Florent. Quatre Etudes de Figures & Tête, au bistre, rehaussé de blanc, de la Collection du Vasari."

PROVENANCE: Thomas Dimsdale, London (Lugt 2426); John Postle Heseltine, London (Lugt 1507); Henry Oppenheimer, London; Oppenheimer sale 1936, lot 84. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1936.

EXHIBITED: New York 1979, no. 2, ill.

LITERATURE: Berenson 1903, no. 767; Kurz 1937, p. 34; Berenson 1938, no. 767; Berenson 1961, no. 767; Ragghianti Collobi 1974, p. 99, fig. 273; Szabo 1983, no. 25, ill.

School of Lorenzo di Credi

82. The Madonna Adoring the Child, with an Angel

1975.I.371

Pen and brown ink, traces of white, over red chalk underdrawing of the Madonna. 242 x 183 mm. Laid down. Abraded and worn; waterstain at upper left; some holes and tears; lower right corner made up; horizontal fold at center. Annotated at the lower right in pen and brown ink: AM(?); on the backing in blue chalk: 17, and in black pencil in a modern hand: *Andrea Mantegna*.

Despite its poor condition, this sheet deserves more attention than it has so far been given. The penmanship is very delicate, and although there is a certain awkwardness in the spatial relationships between the figures, they and the landscape were drawn by an artist who was technically skilled at defining structure and form.

The scene repeats a motif found often in paintings, particularly tondi, that have been ascribed to Lorenzo di Credi or his school. The landscape and the poses of the



Fig. 82.1 Lorenzo di Credi, *Madonna Adoring the Child, with the Infant Saint John the Baptist and an Angel*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1909 (09.197)

Virgin and Child are much like those in Lorenzo's famous *Adoration of the Shepherds* of about 1510 from Santa Chiara, Florence (now Uffizi), in which the stable is a similar shed.¹ The composition is also related to the *Madonna Adoring the Child, with Saint Joseph, the Young Saint John the Baptist, and an Angel*, a tondo from the Medici collections in the Uffizi that has been at the Museo Horne in Florence since 1936.² In that tondo and in the version (without Joseph) that is in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 82.1),³ the angel who holds the infant Saint John the Baptist out toward the Christ Child serves to close off the composition on the left and below, as the angel and Child do here. The Virgin in the tondo in the Metropolitan is almost identical to the figure in our drawing, even in many details of the hairstyle and drapery. The composition of another tondo in the Uffizi, the *Madonna Adoring the Child, with an Angel*, is entirely analogous to that of our drawing, differing only in the background and other details.⁴ In all three of these tondi the pose of the Child is similar to that in our drawing. Also related are a tondo in the Casati Stampa di Soncino collection, Rome,⁵ and three rectangular panels: the *Madonna Adoring the Child, with Saint Joseph* that was in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, Berlin, and was lost during World War II;⁶ the *Madonna Adoring the Child, with Saint Joseph and Two Angels*, with Joseph at the right and the two angels at the left in a more conservative arrange-

ment, in the Museo di Capodimonte, Naples;⁷ and the *Madonna Adoring the Child* in the National Gallery, London, in which the Madonna's pose and hairstyle strongly resemble those in our drawing.⁸

This compositional formula would find its most intelligent and novel interpretation in the tondo by Fra Bartolommeo now in the Galleria Borghese, Rome. But it was most widely diffused in Florence by artists in the circle of Lorenzo di Credi, who well into the sixteenth century produced devoutly sensitive images repeating simplified Quattrocento compositions. Without claiming that they are from the same hand, we can also point to several drawings akin to ours: a *Madonna and Child* and a *Study for an Infant Jesus* in the Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt;⁹ a *Madonna and Child* in the Cleveland Museum of Art that has been attributed to Lorenzo di Credi and to several of his followers, including



Fig. 82.2 Attributed to Lorenzo di Credi and to Sogliani, *Madonna and Child*. Musée du Louvre, Paris. Photograph: Réunion des Musées Nationaux



No. 82

Sogliani;¹⁰ and a *Madonna and Child* in the Louvre, Paris (Fig. 82.2), also ascribed to Lorenzo and to Sogliani.¹¹ The Louvre drawing, like those in Darmstadt and Cleveland, was executed in metalpoint, but with the same sort of fragmented line that was used in the heads of our figures. The Madonna in the Lehman drawing resembles the *Madonna in Adoration* in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, which has been attributed to Raffaello Botticini, although the treatment there is more controlled and the medium more varied.¹² Similar penwork, apart from the stiffer and more constrained quality, is found in certain drawings particularly characteristic of Lorenzo's style, if not his hand, such as the *Kneeling Angel Presenting Saint John the Baptist to the Madonna and Child and a Study of a Head* in the Biblioteca Marucelliana, Florence;¹³ the sketches on the verso of a sheet in the National Gallery, Edinburgh;¹⁴ and the sheets in the so-called Francesco di Simone group, one of which is in the Metropolitan Museum.¹⁵

Whether the Lehman drawing was preparatory to a painting or derived from one of the many painted variants of the composition is difficult to say. The delicacy of the line, still legible despite the worn state of the paper, and the free treatment of some of the details in the figures' heads would seem to suggest that this is an original interpretation of a compositional formula by then in widespread use as a model, by an artist who was preparing a painting of his own rather than literally copying the existing examples. In such a case it would be natural enough to find a certain stiffness in the handling of the shading and contours.

Note the outline of Florence Cathedral in the cityscape sketched in the background, a sign of the artist's concern with iconographical precision and a clue to the probable destination of his drawing. Imbued as it is with the Quattrocento ideal of compositional equilibrium, this drawing could not be much later than the second or third decade of the sixteenth century; after that even an artist who was looking to the past for inspiration would not have produced a drawing without so much as a hint of Mannerism.

NOTES:

1. Uffizi, 8399; Dalli Regoli 1966, no. 95, fig. 139; Uffizi catalogue 1979, no. P912. The copy by Sogliani from the church of San Salvatore al Monte in Florence that was in Kassel was lost during World War II.
2. Uffizi, 1599; Degenhart 1932, p. 131, fig. 28 (as Antonio Ceraiuolo); Uffizi catalogue 1979, no. P910 (as Lorenzo di Credi). Dalli Regoli (1966, p. 199) called the Uffizi tondo a copy (in reverse) of the one in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich (ibid., no. 131, fig. 166), which she attributed to Lorenzo

himself. In his discussion of the question of the authorship of these tondi, Fahy ([1968] 1976, p. 50, n. 76) ascribed the Munich tondo to Fra Bartolommeo.

3. Metropolitan Museum, 09.197; Dalli Regoli 1966, no. 127, fig. 167 (as Lorenzo di Credi); Baetjer 1980, vol. 1, p. 109, vol. 2, ill. p. 32 (as Lorenzo di Credi).
4. Uffizi, 883; Degenhart 1932, p. 131, fig. 27 (as Lorenzo di Credi with Ceraiuolo); Dalli Regoli 1966, no. 181, fig. 232 (as workshop of Lorenzo di Credi); Uffizi catalogue 1979, no. P913 (as Lorenzo di Credi and assistants).
5. Dalli Regoli 1966, no. 33, fig. 72 (as Lorenzo di Credi).
6. Ibid., no. 98, fig. 145 (as Lorenzo di Credi).
7. Ibid., no. 168, fig. 212 (as Lorenzo di Credi in collaboration with Sogliani).
8. Ibid., no. 51, fig. 76 (as Lorenzo di Credi).
9. Hessisches Landesmuseum, AE1289, AE1288; Berenson 1961, nos. 671B, 735A; Paris 1971–72, nos. 3 (as Lorenzo di Credi), 4 (as school of Lorenzo di Credi).
10. Cleveland Museum of Art, 63.472; Berenson 1961, no. 2738 (as Sogliani); Dalli Regoli 1966, no. 257 (as the Master of the *Conversazione di Santo Spirito* [Giovanni Cianfanini?]); Pillsbury in Cleveland 1971, no. 55, ill. (as attributed to Lorenzo di Credi).
11. Louvre, RF463; Berenson 1961, no. 2754 (as Sogliani). The drawing is traditionally ascribed to Lorenzo di Credi.
12. Nationalmuseum, 54/1863; Sirén 1917, no. 50 (as pupil of Lorenzo di Credi); Berenson 1961, no. 592 (as Raffaele Botticini); Paris–Brussels–Amsterdam 1970–71, no. 7, ill. (as Raffaele Botticini). The drawing is in metalpoint, heightened with white, on pink prepared paper.
13. Biblioteca Marucelliana, E137; Berenson 1961, no. 673, fig. 149; Dalli Regoli 1966, no. 143, fig. 184; Florence 1983–84, no. 115, ill. p. 177 (all as Lorenzo di Credi). Ferri (1909, p. 316) attributed this drawing to Lorenzo and related it to yet another tondo in the Uffizi (3244; Uffizi catalogue 1979, P911). Degenhart (1930) thought that it might have been a collaborative effort by Lorenzo and Leonardo da Vinci.
14. National Gallery, D642; Dalli Regoli 1966, no. 14 (as Lorenzo di Credi); Andrews 1968, no. 43 (as Lorenzo di Credi); London–Nottingham 1983, no. 6, ill. (as workshop of Andrea del Verrocchio). The *Standing Bishop* on the recto is a preparatory study for the painting *Madonna and Child with Saints John and Donatus* in the cathedral of Pistoia, which was commissioned from Verrocchio, probably in 1475, but may have been executed in his shop under Lorenzo's guidance (see Dalli Regoli 1966, no. 30, fig. 58, and London–Nottingham 1983, under no. 6, fig. 6a).
15. Metropolitan Museum, 1972.118.252, *Studies of the Virgin Kneeling, Saint Peter Standing, and Other Figures* (recto and verso); Bean and Turčić 1982, no. 82, ill. For a discussion of the group of Verrocchiesque drawings scattered in several collections that Morelli (1893, p. 38) first attributed to Francesco di Simone, see Popham and Pouncey 1950, under nos. 56, 57.

PROVENANCE: Not established.

EXHIBITED: Northampton (Mass.) 1942–44; New York 1979, no. 34, ill.

Raffaellino del Garbo

Barbarino di Valdelsa ca. 1466–Florence 1524

In the past there has been much confusion about the artists named Raffaellino del Garbo, Raffaele Carli, Raffaele dei Capponi (or de Caponibus), and Raphael de Florentia. Most scholars now agree that all these names refer to one artist called Raffaellino, whose family name was Carli but who was also called de' Capponi, after the family that raised him, and del Garbo, after the street in Florence where he had his workshop from 1513 to 1517. According to Vasari, Raffaellino was trained in Florence by Filippino Lippi, whom he assisted on the frescoes in Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome. Echoes of Filippino and Botticelli are obvious in his early works, such as the *Madonna and Child with Angels* in the Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin. But he was later also influenced by Lorenzo di Credi and the Umbrians Perugino and Pinturicchio, as well as by Ghirlandaio, Piero di Cosimo, Verrocchio, and even Leonardo, as can be seen in the *Pietà* in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich, and the *Resurrection* in the Accademia, Florence, both datable about 1503–5.

After the early 1500s Raffaellino's paintings became more and more routine, not only because of the greater role played by his workshop but also because of his own involvement in other interests, such as creating designs for needlework. He left a large number of drawings, but our understanding of his graphic oeuvre has not been helped by Berenson's attempt to divide it between "Raffaele dei Carli" and "Raffaellino del Garbo." Raffaellino's drawings, especially the many embroidery designs that have survived, are still often confused with those of other contemporary Florentines.

Raffaellino del Garbo(?)

83. The Virgin and Saint John the Evangelist

1975.I.370

Pen and light and dark brown ink, brush and brown wash, heightened with white, over black chalk underdrawing. Pricked for transfer, but no traces of powdered charcoal on the verso. 177 x 142 mm. Annotated in pen and brown ink at the bottom center in a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century hand: *And. del Castagno*.

This sheet belongs to a group of drawings that are related in style, theme, medium, and size. The drawings, all with complete yet simplified linework and all pricked for transfer, undoubtedly served as embroidery cartoons.

In the past Filippino Lippi was often mentioned in connection with the drawings in this group, including this one,¹ but since 1961, when Berenson reunited the works he had previously divided between "Raffaele dei Carli" and "Raffaellino del Garbo," they have generally been ascribed to Raffaellino del Garbo.²

Matching sixteenth-century Florentine designs for needlework with the products themselves and providing them with precise attributions is a chapter still to be written. The attribution of this entire group of drawings to Raffaellino has in the past been based on a few documented embroidery cartoons from his hand and on Vasari's report that in the end Raffaellino was reduced to undertaking any work, however mean, "and he was employed by certain nuns and other persons, who were embroidering a great quantity of church vestments and hangings at that time, to make designs in chiaroscuro and ornamental borders containing saints and stories, for ridiculous prices. For although he had deteriorated, there sometimes issued from his hand most beautiful designs and fancies, as is proved by many drawings that were sold and dispersed after the deaths of those who used them for embroidery; and in the album of the Master of the Hospital there are several that demonstrate his talent in drawing."³

The group of sheets is not homogeneous. Those that can be most securely attributed to Raffaellino are the two designs in the Uffizi for the embroidery on the vestments commissioned by Cardinal Silvio Passerini of Cortona, on which Andrea del Sarto also worked and at least some of which have been dated before 1515, when the piviale was worn for the first time by Pope Leo X during a visit to Cortona.⁴ To these can be added the drawing in the Metropolitan Museum for the chasuble in the collegiate church of San Martino at Pietrasanta (Lucca).⁵ And Raffaellino also very likely supplied the cartoons (now lost) for the cope and the cowl in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Orvieto.⁶ Some of the drawings in the group are of lesser quality and can be generically ascribed to Raffaellino's workshop, and others carry attributions to artists even more illustrious than Raffaellino. This is true, for example, of a few drawings in the Uffizi that are quite certainly by Andrea del Sarto⁷ and of a sheet in the Teylers Museum, Haarlem, that has been tentatively attributed to Raphael.⁸

Despite the sixteenth- or seventeenth-century annotation, throughout its admittedly limited critical history the Lehman sheet has never been ascribed to Andrea del Castagno.⁹ The drawing appeared in the Grassi sale in 1924 as Florentine, about 1470; Berenson ascribed it to



No. 83

“Raffaele dei Carli”; and Byam Shaw, when he saw it in 1963 at the Lehman residence in New York, attributed it to Raffaellino del Garbo,¹⁰ as did Szabo in 1979 and again in 1983. Fahy wondered in 1975 if the drawing might be by Bartolommeo di Giovanni.¹¹ Bartolommeo also produced needlework designs, but little is known about him,

and his drawing style, which was probably more blocked out, with firmer, flatter figures, still requires greater clarification.

The Lehman sheet can be usefully compared with several drawings in the group of embroidery cartoons that are probably Raffaellino’s work: the *Saint Christopher*

(Fig. 83.1), *Saint Paul*, *Saints Bartholomew and Dominic*, and *Head of an Angel* (Fig. 83.2) in the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, Rome;¹² the *Angel* in the Graphische Sammlung, Weimar;¹³ and the *Mater Dolorosa* in the British Museum, London.¹⁴ That our drawing has a certain brilliance the others lack might make the attribution to Filippino Lippi understandable and may also suggest that it is a work of Raffaellino's younger years, from about 1500.

Though it is not a usual subject for embroidered vestments, these two figures were most likely intended for a Crucifixion. The two mourners may have been meant either to flank the cross (the double line down the center of the sheet could be the upright of the cross, though it

seems very narrow and might also be simply a mark to aid the embroiderer) or, perhaps, to stand together to one side of the cross in a larger scene with the Maries and other saints.¹⁵ In either case the squarish design would suggest the cape of a chasuble, rather than its borders, or possibly a detail on an antependium or even a small embroidered tapestry.

NOTES:

1. In the catalogue of the New York exhibition of 1979 Szabo stated that this drawing might be the work of Raffaellino del Garbo and mentioned its former attribution to a follower of Filippino Lippi. Filippino's name is written on a photograph of the drawing in the library at the Harvard Center for Renaissance Studies at Villa I Tatti, Florence, where there is also a reference to Francesco di Giorgio.
2. For a summary of the "Raffaellino del Garbo problem," see Carpaneto 1970–71.
3. Vasari (1568) 1878–85, vol. 4, p. 239: "ed in ultimo si ridusse a far ogni lavoro meccanico: e ad alcune monache ed altre genti, che allora ricamavano assai paramenti da chiesa, si diede a fare disegni di chiaro scuro, e fregiature di santi e di storie, per vilissimo prezzo; perchè ancora che egli avesse peggiorato, talvolta gli usciva di bellissimi disegni e fantasie di mano; come ne fanno fede molte carte che poi doppo la morte di coloro che ricamavano, si son veduti qua e là; e nel Libro del signore Spedalingo ve n'è molti che mostrano quanto valesse nel disegno." The "signore Spedalingo" who owned the album of Raffaellino drawings was Don Vincenzo Borghini.
4. Uffizi, 196E, *Saint John the Baptist*, and 345E, *Madonna and Child*; Ragghianti 1949, figs. 88–91; Berenson 1961,



Fig. 83.1 Raffaellino del Garbo(?), *Saint Christopher*. Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, Rome. Photograph: Enrichetta Beltrame Quattrocchi, *Disegni toscani e umbri del primo Rinascimento* (exhib. cat., Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, Rome: De Luca Editore, 1979), no. 22a



Fig. 83.2 Raffaellino del Garbo(?), *Head of an Angel*. Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, Rome. Photograph: Enrichetta Beltrame Quattrocchi, *Disegni toscani e umbri del primo Rinascimento* (exhib. cat., Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, Rome: De Luca Editore, 1979), no. 23c

- nos. 611, 621 (as Raffaele dei Carli); Carpaneto 1970–71, pt. 2, pp. 17–19, ill. For the chasuble, now in the Museo Diocesano, Cortona, see also Florence 1980a, no. 33.
5. Metropolitan Museum, 12.56.5a, *Angel of the Annunciation*; Bean and Turčić 1982, no. 94, ill. For the chasuble, see Garzelli 1973, p. 23, fig. 30.
 6. Garzelli 1972, nos. 442, 31, ill. The *Adoration of the Magi* formerly in the Oppenheimer and Lehman collections (Berenson 1961, no. 642C, listed as still in the Robert Lehman Collection) is probably a derivation rather than a preparatory study for the embroidery on the cowl at Orvieto.
 7. The drawings by Andrea del Sarto were recognized by Ragghianti (1949) and then discussed by Shearman (1965, vol. 1, no. 60, p. 244).
 8. Teylers Museum, A52, *Kneeling Angel*; Florence–Rome 1983–84, no. 4, ill.; London–Nottingham 1983, no. 11b, ill.
 9. Andrea del Castagno's name is written in a similar hand on three drawings in the Uffizi – 251E, *Youth Standing*, 252E, *Pietà*, and 253E, *Madonna and Child* – that Degenhart and Schmitt (1968, nos. 500–502) have attributed to Baldovinetti (see also No. 68). Ragghianti Collobi (1974, pp. 61–62), following Degenhart, held the writing on the Uffizi sheets to be that of Baldinucci himself, deducing from this, without sufficient reasons, that they may have come from Vasari's famous *Libro*. In any case, the writing does not have all the characteristics of Baldinucci's well-known hand (see No. 64). Our drawing certainly belonged to the same sixteenth- or seventeenth-century collector as did the sheets in the Uffizi, and that collector was probably Florentine, but beyond that we can say little about its early provenance, at least not until the provenance of the Uffizi sheets, which came from the Medici-Lorraine holdings (see Petrioli Tofani 1986–87, pp. 100–112), has been established.
 10. Report of Byam Shaw's visit, April 12, 1963 (Robert Lehman Collection files).
 11. Letter from Fahy to Szabo, August 21, 1975 (Robert Lehman Collection files). Fahy's opinion is shared by Kanter (oral communication, 1988). For Bartolommeo di Giovanni's paintings, see Fahy (1968) 1976, pp. 126ff.
 12. Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, FCI30456, FCI30454, FCI30465 (in which Saint Bartholomew's gesture is similar to that of our Saint John), FCI31755 (the head being of the same type as our Saint John's); Rome 1979a, nos. 22a, b, d, 23c, ill.
 13. Berenson 1961, no. 657.
 14. British Museum, 1890.6.16.45; Popham and Pouncey 1950, no. 66, pl. 61; Berenson 1961, no. 641.
 15. Szabo said in 1983 that the vertical division of the sheet indicates that the figures could have been used separately. That is unlikely, however.

PROVENANCE: Luigi Grassi, Florence (Lugt Suppl. 1171b); Frits Lugt, Paris; Grassi sale 1924, lot 77, ill. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1924.

EXHIBITED: Poughkeepsie 1942–44; New York 1979, no. 3, ill.

LITERATURE: Berenson 1938, no. 642B; Lugt 1956, p. 171, under no. 1171b; Berenson 1961, no. 642B; Szabo 1983, no. 26, ill.

Fra Bartolommeo

(Bartolommeo di Paolo del Fattorino, called Baccio della Porta)

Florence 1472(?)–Florence 1517

According to Vasari, Bartolommeo was trained in Cosimo Rosselli's workshop in Florence. In 1496, moved by Savonarola's preaching, Bartolommeo burned all his non-religious works, and in 1500 he gave up painting altogether and entered the monastery of San Domenico at Prato. Sante Pagnini, prior of the monastery of San Marco in Florence, convinced him to begin painting again in 1504, and from 1505 until his death he headed the monastery workshop.

Fra Bartolommeo's monumental altarpieces, such as *God the Father with Saint Catherine of Siena and the Magdalene* of 1509 (Museo e Pinacoteca Nazionale, Lucca), painted shortly after his brief yet consequential sojourn in Venice in 1508, anticipated the art of the Counter-Reformation. In works like the *Saints Peter and Paul* (Vatican Museums) that he painted when he was in Rome in 1514 and the *Salvator Mundi* of 1516 (Palazzo Pitti, Florence), he skillfully assimilated and elaborated on the ideas of his contemporaries working in Rome.

A large number of Fra Bartolommeo's drawings have survived. He was one of the few Florentine artists of his time to draw landscapes out of doors, and for his many preparatory studies for paintings he made ingenious use of manikins to work out poses of figures like those in the unfinished *Saint Anne* altarpiece (1510–15), a large monochrome work halfway between drawing and painting, that was commissioned by the Signoria of Florence and is now in the Museo di San Marco.

Fra Bartolommeo

84. *Madonna and Child with the Infant Saint John the Baptist and Two Putti*

1975.I.271

Pen and brown ink, touches of brown wash, heightened with white (partly oxidized), over traces of black chalk, on tinted paper. The artist drew the present verso first, then partly traced the main figures onto the recto. To obtain a proper surface, he prepared those areas where ink from the verso was penetrating the paper (i.e., mainly in the figure of the Madonna) with white body color. 187 x 163 mm. Red ink stains at lower right.

Verso: *Madonna and Child with the Infant Saint John the Baptist and a Putto*. Pen and brown ink over black chalk.



No. 84, recto



Fig. 84.1 Fra Bartolommeo, *Madonna and Child with the Infant Saint John the Baptist and Five Angels*. Royal Library, Windsor Castle, copyright 1990 Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II

Since this sheet first appeared in the literature in 1878, when it was in the collection of Conte Ottolini in Lucca (along with thirty other sheets said to have come from the local Dominican convent), its attribution to Fra Bartolommeo has remained unchallenged. The style of the drawing, particularly the short penstrokes, almost as if barely scratched on the paper, relates it to the many studies Bartolommeo did in his youth in collaboration with Mariotto Albertinelli. But Albertinelli's drawing style, as exemplified in a rather small number of sheets, is by now sufficiently well identified to dispel any doubts about the attribution of this drawing and many others like it.¹

As Von der Gabelentz pointed out in 1922, this drawing is analogous to a group of studies of the Madonna and Child with putti or angels and saints: two sheets at Windsor (Fig. 84.1);² two in the Uffizi, Florence;³ one in the Louvre, Paris;⁴ and one, also from the Ottolini collection, in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin.⁵ The group centers around the two sheets at Windsor, the most pre-

cise of the drawings and the only two that include a partial arched framing and that are studies for a tondo. To these should be added two drawings in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam, from the collection of J. Q. van Regteren Altena;⁶ one in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin;⁷ and one in the British Museum, London.⁸

Somewhat forcing the relationships Von der Gabelentz discerned, Popham and Wilde (in 1949) and Bean and Stampfle (in the catalogue of the exhibition in New York in 1965–66) interpreted our sheet and the drawings at Windsor and the Uffizi as a sequence of studies for the same unknown picture, presumably a tondo. The many variations in these drawings, however, not only in the poses and the number of attending angels or saints but also in the vantage point, make it more plausible that these were intended not for one particular painting but simply as ideas for compositions on what was certainly then one of the most standardized and common themes.

In fact, the figures of the Madonna on both the recto and, even more so, the verso of our sheet seem to have inspired a painting by Albertinelli, the *Madonna and Child with Saints Jerome and Zenobius*, signed and dated 1506, from the Zanobi del Maestro Chapel in Santa Trinita, Florence, that is now in the Louvre (Fig. 84.2).⁹ Two drawings in the Uffizi by Fra Bartolommeo can be related to that painting as well.¹⁰ And about the same time Albertinelli also used two of Bartolommeo's sketches for



Fig. 84.2 Mariotto Albertinelli, *Madonna and Child with Saints Jerome and Zenobius*. Musée du Louvre, Paris. Photograph: Réunion des Musées Nationaux



No. 84, verso

the *Annunciation* in the Accademia, Florence, which is datable to 1506–10.¹¹ The dating of about 1500 that Von der Gabelentz proposed for our drawing might perhaps be better shifted to 1505–6, soon after Fra Bartolommeo had returned to work as a painter.

Vasari reported that “in order to depict draperies and weapons and other such things,” Fra Bartolommeo “had a life-size wooden model made which had movable joints; and this he clothed in real draperies, from which he painted the most beautiful things, being able to keep them in position as long as he wished, until he brought his work to perfection. This model, worm-eaten and ruined as it is, is in our possession in memory of him.”¹² As Haraszti-Takács remarked in 1967 (and Szabo reiterated in 1983), the Virgin in our drawing, who has no hands, and the Child, whose arm is truncated at the wrist, could well have been drawn from such *modelli di legname*.

NOTES:

1. Albertinelli's catalogue of drawings has been reconstructed by Borgo ([1968] 1976, figs. 63–80).
2. Royal Library, Windsor Castle, 12782 (sketch for a tondo: the Virgin standing holding the Child, with the infant Saint John and five kneeling angels), 12783 (sketch for a tondo: the Virgin standing holding the Child, with the young Saint John, four kneeling angels, and a kneeling monk); Von der Gabelentz 1922, nos. 873, 874; Popham and Wilde (1949) 1984, nos. 113, 114, pl. 15, fig. 32. For a discussion of this group of studies, see also Florence 1986b, under nos. 32, 33.
3. Uffizi, 489E (verso: the Virgin standing holding the Child, with the young John the Baptist presented by an angel), 1236E (recto: the Virgin standing holding the Child, with the young John the Baptist presented by an angel [to the right of a sketch of Christ carrying the cross]); Von der Gabelentz 1922, nos. 151, 174, pl. 11; Borgo (1968) 1976, p. 292, fig. 166; Petrioli Tofani 1986–87, pp. 220, 514–15, ill.; Florence 1986b, no. 32, figs. 46, 38 (Uffizi 1236E is mentioned under no. 6, p. 38). Von der Gabelentz also mentioned our drawing in his discussion of Uffizi 491E (recto: two studies for the Madonna standing holding the Child, one with the young Saint John, the other with two kneeling monks and three angels); see Von der Gabelentz 1922, no. 153; Borgo (1968) 1976, p. 292, fig. 167; Petrioli Tofani 1986–87, p. 221; Florence 1986b, no. 33, figs. 45, 47.
4. Louvre, His de la Salle 7 (recto: the Virgin standing holding the Child with the young Saint John, two kneeling angels, and two kneeling figures; verso: the Virgin standing holding the Child, with the young Saint John); Von der Gabelentz 1922, no. 378 (as Albertinelli).
5. Kupferstichkabinett, 1545.39–1881 (standing Madonna and Child); *ibid.*, no. 7.
6. One of these drawings (A. G. B. Russell sale, Sotheby's, London, May 9, 1929, lot 9, ill.; Amsterdam 1970, no. 6) shows the Virgin and Child, the composition reversed, and has on its verso the Virgin and Child with the young Saint John the Baptist. The other (Amsterdam 1970, no. 5, ill.; Amsterdam 1981, no. 27, fig. 36) shows the Virgin standing holding the Child, with two standing saints, and has a more conspicuous wash treatment.
7. Kupferstichkabinett, 1547.41–1881 (recto: the Holy Family); Von der Gabelentz 1922, no. 9, pl. 31.
8. British Museum, 1910.2.12.12, *Three Sketches of Madonna and Child*; *ibid.*, no. 297.
9. Louvre, 38; Borgo (1968) 1976, no. 11, fig. 18, pp. 289–95; Paris 1982, no. 12, ill.
10. As Borgo ([1968] 1976, under no. 11) has said, the basic idea for the figure composition of the painting can be found in Uffizi 489E and 491E (see note 3 above).
11. Accademia, 8643; *ibid.*, no. 20, pp. 318–25. Albertinelli was inspired by Fra Bartolommeo's *Two Studies for an Annunciation and Angels* (Uffizi, 453E; Von der Gabelentz 1922, no. 116; Petrioli Tofani 1986–87, p. 203, ill.).
12. Vasari (1568) 1878–85, vol. 4, pp. 195–96: “per poter ritrar panni ed arme ed altre simil cose fece fare un modello di legno grande quanto il vivo, che si snodava nelle congruenti, e quello vestiva con panni naturali; dove egli fece di bellissime cose, potendo egli a beneplacito suo tenerle ferme, fino che egli avesse condotto l'opera sua a perfezione: il quale modello, così intarlato e guasto come è, è appresso di noi per memoria sua.”

PROVENANCE: Conte Ottolini, Lucca; John Postle Heseltine, London (Lugt 1507); Henry Oppenheimer, London; Oppenheimer sale 1936, no. 31, pl. 6. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1936.

EXHIBITED: London 1930, no. 190, pl. 160b; Northampton (Mass.) 1942–44; Paris 1957, no. 86; Cincinnati 1959, no. 213, ill.; New York 1965–66, no. 28, ill.; Los Angeles 1976, no. 18, ill.; New York 1978, no. 33, ill.

LITERATURE: E. Ridolfi 1878, p. 88, n. 3; Gruyer 1886, no. 1, p. 101; Berenson 1903, no. 430; Knapp 1903, no. 4, p. 314; Von der Gabelentz 1922, no. 307 and under no. 153; Berenson 1938, no. 459G; Popham and Wilde (1949) 1984, under no. 113; Berenson 1961, no. 459G, fig. 367; Haraszti-Takács 1967, p. 60, fig. 41; Szabo 1983, no. 20, ill.

Fra Bartolommeo

85. Approach to a Mountain Village with Horsemen on the Road

1975.I.270

Pen and brown ink, traces of black chalk. 295 x 205 mm.
Mounted on an album page.

Fra Bartolommeo was one of the few Florentine artists of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries to draw landscapes. In this he was following Leonardo da Vinci and Piero di Cosimo (though few of Piero's landscapes





Fig. 85.1 Fra Bartolommeo, *The Approach to a Mountain Village*. Courtauld Institute Galleries, London, Princes Gate Collection



Fig. 85.2 Giuliano Bugiardini, *The Rape of Dinah* (detail). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

have survived), but he was also well acquainted with prints of landscapes by Northern artists from Dürer to Lucas van Leyden, as well as by Venetian artists, which is not surprising given his sojourn in Venice in 1508. Until the late 1950s only a few of Fra Bartolommeo's landscape drawings, with and without figures, most in pen and ink, were known.¹ That number was considerably enlarged in 1957, however, when an album with forty-one sheets by Fra Bartolommeo, many of them with drawings on both sides, appeared on the art market in London.

This delightful sketch belonged to that album, which was dismantled and sold as separate sheets that are now scattered in both public and private collections. The frontispiece of the album bore the arms of the Florentine art historian and collector Cavaliere Francesco Maria Niccolò Gabburri (1675–1742), who had probably bought the drawings about 1727, along with some five hundred figure studies, from the nuns of the Convent of Santa Caterina in Piazza San Marco, Florence.² The convent had acquired the drawings in 1588 at the bequest of Suor Plautilla Nelli (1523–1588), who had in turn received them as gifts from Fra Paolino da Pistoia (ca. 1490–1547), Fra Bartolommeo's pupil and heir.³

When Gabburri had the landscape drawings bound in a sheepskin volume in about 1730 he added the frontispiece with his coat of arms and a title page that attributed the drawings to Andrea del Sarto.⁴ There is little doubt, however, that they are by Fra Bartolommeo. He quite certainly sketched them out of doors on journeys or walks in and around Florence. Folio 8 from the album, now in the Smith College Museum of Art, Northampton, Massachusetts, is a view of the Convent of Santa Maria Maddalena in Pian di Mugnone, near Caldine on the outskirts of Florence, where Fra Bartolommeo is known to have stayed and worked on several occasions.⁵ Folio 14, now in the Curtis O. Baer collection, Atlanta, is a view of Fiesole.⁶ Many other landmarks and architectural details in the drawings seem quite specific, and if so few of the locales have been identified, it is because the countryside and woodlands around Florence have changed over the centuries.

So far as we now know, only two of the drawings from the album were incorporated into paintings. Folio 3, in the Cleveland Museum of Art,⁷ supplied the landscape background for Fra Bartolommeo's *God the Father with Saint Catherine of Siena and the Magdalene* (Museo e Pinacoteca Nazionale, Lucca), which is signed and dated 1509. Folio 2, acquired by Count Antoine von Seilern at the sale in 1957 and now in the Courtauld Institute Gal-



No. 85, detail (enlarged)

leries, London (Fig. 85.1),⁸ is a study for the landscape in *The Rape of Dinah* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (Fig. 85.2), which Vasari said was begun by Fra Bartolommeo and finished by Giuliano Bugiardini in 1531.⁹ Some of Fra Bartolommeo's figure studies from about 1515 were also used for the painting.

In the catalogue of the New York exhibition of 1965–66 Bean and Stampfle remarked that our drawing and the one in the Seilern collection depict the same country lane from different vantage points. There is indeed considerable resemblance between the two scenes, but the first house on the right here is different from the one in the Seilern drawing. Be that as it may, the two figures in the foreground and some of those on the ridge in our drawing look very much like the figures in the distant land-

scape in *The Rape of Dinah*. This might indicate that both the Lehman and Seilern sheets – and perhaps others from the sketchbook – date to the friar's later years. The echoes of Venetian drawings, which he would have seen when he visited Venice in 1508, and the connections with the landscape in the Lucca painting of 1509 provide further evidence, as do the watermarks on some of the sheets, which identify the paper as having been made in Florence in 1507–8.¹⁰

NOTES:

1. See, for example, fols. 17–20 of the Léon Bonnat album in the Louvre (RF5549–72; Berenson 1961, no. 494A). Others are in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; the Albertina, Vienna; and the Uffizi (see, for example, Byam Shaw 1983, under no. 6).

2. Gabburri wrote in the volumes of figure studies by Fra Bartolommeo that he had bought them in 1727 (see Haverkamp-Begemann 1958). It is likely that he bought the landscape drawings at the same time.
3. For the history of the album, see Carmen Gronau's text in the catalogue of the sale at Sotheby's in 1957, which reproduces all the drawings; see also Kennedy 1959. It was long assumed that the "Anglois nommé Kent" who Mariette said bought the Gabburri collection was William Kent the architect, but in 1958 Fleming argued that the purchaser was probably another Mr. Kent, an art dealer who was active in Florence and Rome and is mentioned in letters from the mid-1700s.
4. Both the frontispiece and the title page, drawn by Rinaldo Botti, were sold at Sotheby's, New York, January 16, 1986, and are now in the Fondation Custodia, Paris.
5. Smith College Museum of Art, 1957:59; Kennedy 1959, figs. 1–3. An unidentified farmhouse is sketched upside down in the center of the sheet.
6. New York 1965–66, no. 32, ill.; Washington, D.C. 1985–87, no. 2, ill. The Washington catalogue notes that although the drawing has in the past been described as a view of Fiesole from the Mugnone valley, Chris Fischer (in a letter of February 15, 1985) has identified it as having been taken from the main square (Piazza Mino da Fiesole) and showing the "Colle di San Francesco," with the facade of San Francesco at the upper right and the choir of San Alessandro at the left.
7. Cleveland Museum of Art, 57.498; Cleveland 1979, no. 3, ill.
8. Seilern 1959, no. 83, pl. 37.
9. For Fra Bartolommeo's drawings for *The Rape of Dinah*, see Härth 1960.
10. See Kennedy 1959, pp. 8–9, n. 27, and Byam Shaw 1983, no. 16, n. 8.

PROVENANCE: Bequeathed by Fra Bartolommeo to Fra Paolino da Pistoia, Florence; Suor Plautilla Nelli, Florence, before 1574; Convent of Santa Caterina, Piazza San Marco, Florence, acquired after Suor Plautilla Nelli's death in 1588; Francesco Maria Niccolò Gabburri, Florence, acquired in or about 1727; Kent, England, acquired after Gabburri's death in 1742; private collection, Ireland; sale, Sotheby's, London, November 20, 1957, no. 1, ill. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1957.

EXHIBITED: New York 1965–66, no. 30, ill.; New York 1978, no. 34, ill.; Evanston 1988, no. 2, ill.

LITERATURE: Berenson 1961, no. 433F, under fol. 2; Rome 1972–73, under no. 4; Bean and Turčić 1982, under no. 25; Szabo 1983, no. 21, ill.

Central Italy

Early sixteenth century

86. Orpheus

1975.I.253

Pen and brown ink. 234 x 164 mm. Framing line in pen and darker brown ink drawn over the figures and the setting at the edges. Annotated in the same darker ink at the bottom center in a seventeenth- or eighteenth-century hand: *Rafael*.

Despite its indubitable interest, this drawing has not been treated in the literature, perhaps because it became accessible only when Szabo published it in the catalogue of the exhibition in New York in 1979 as the work of a "North Italian/Venetian artist, first quarter sixteenth century." Berenson knew it before then, however. There is a photograph of the drawing, filed under Jacopo Bellini, in the library at the Harvard Center for Renaissance Studies at the Villa I Tatti, Florence, and an undated note in the Robert Lehman Collection files reports that Berenson attributed this drawing to "Giambono or early Venetian circle."

The attribution to Raphael written at the bottom of the sheet in a seventeenth- or eighteenth-century non-Italian (to judge from the misspelling of the name) hand, though to some extent indicative, is obviously absurd, for certainly nothing in this drawing justifies a connection with Raphael or his closest circle. The helter-skelter, almost Gothicizing spatial arrangement, the hybrid classicism of the architecture, and the zooful of animals – almost as in a Gothic bestiary – all give a certain credence to Berenson's proposal of Giambono or, even more so, Jacopo Bellini. Yet this is the work of an artist of at least three generations later who had Gothic notions but not the formulas to apply to them, and who was directly acquainted with both classical and Renaissance sources, even though he interpreted them in an archaizing manner.

The style of this drawing is not unusual, and it is not difficult to find related works from various areas in Italy. The pen technique, with its short, slightly dotted strokes, and the type of trees bring to mind the Campagnola and Titianesque landscapes of the first years of the sixteenth century. In those, however, one finds nothing like this large architectural set piece with its poor perspective but punctilious classicism. Rearick has brought to my attention that this is meant to be the Septizonium,¹ the ancient colonnaded facade that stood at the southeast corner of the Palatine until it was demolished in 1589, several decades after this drawing was made (though there is no



No. 86

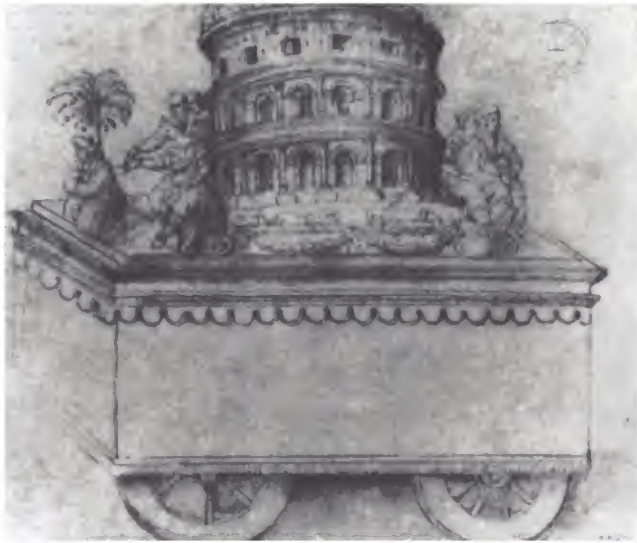


Fig. 86.1 School of Baldassare Peruzzi, *Design for a Triumphal Car*. Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Photograph: Peter Ward-Jackson, *Italian Drawings* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1979), no. 248

compelling reason to think that our artist was actually in Rome, as the Septizonium was well known through drawings).

The horse and the lion, the contours drawn with short strokes, and the awkward classicism of the architecture and figures recall both drawings and paintings by Marcello Fogolino, who was active in Vicenza from 1510 to 1548. Puppi assembled a group of drawings not too different from ours under Fogolino's name. The architecture in the *Miracle of Saint John the Evangelist* in the British Museum, London, for instance, is not unlike what we have here, although overall that drawing is much airier and more Venetian than ours and the figures are more summarily drawn.² Also related are the *Real Son Refusing to Shoot His Arrow at His Father's Body* in the Janos Scholz collection, New York,³ and, especially, the *Triumph of an Ancient King* in the Musée Bonnat, Bayonne.⁴ The horses, in particular, make one think not only of the Bayonne drawing but also of the *Triumph of Chastity* in the Lugt collection, Paris, which Byam Shaw has now plausibly attributed to Liberale da Verona.⁵ Yet despite the striking similarity in the way the horses are arranged and drawn, the Lugt sheet is also more Venetian than ours. Our drawing also brings to mind Pegasus and the tall, modular shrubs in Fogolino's painting *Parnassus* in the National Gallery, London, as well as the animals listening to Orpheus in the fresco Fogolino painted on the facade of a house in the Piazza del Duomo, Trent, about

1530. The implausibly foreshortened classical architecture is somewhat reminiscent of that in the frescoes in the Palazzo Vescovile in Ascoli Piceno in the Marche, which Marchini has attributed to Fogolino and which were executed about 1547.⁶ But the Mannerist stance of the figures in the frescoes, though they are gesticulating just as energetically as those here, is entirely missing in our drawing.

The argument for an attribution to Fogolino is not completely convincing, yet just as Fogolino's frescoes in the Marche take us outside the Veneto, if not wholly outside the Venetian ambient, his activity as an engraver suggests another line of exploration. We might search for clues to the identity of our artist, for example, in the work of the Emilian engravers who represented the transition between the art of the Veneto and the Po area and that of Rome. Engravers such as the Master IB with the Bird, who is perhaps identifiable with Giovan Battista Palumba and has also been connected with the Bolognese



Fig. 86.2 Attributed to Girolamo Marchesi da Cotignola, *Adoration of the Shepherds*. Musée du Louvre, Paris. Photograph: Réunion des Musées Nationaux

painter Jacopo Ripanda; the Monogrammist PP, who has been identified with Parentino; or Nicoletto da Modena,⁷ wavered, as did our artist, between the new classicism and old-fashioned ideas about the definition of space. They also mixed draped figures in the Renaissance style with Gothic-inspired animals that seem almost to have escaped from a Book of Hours. And their compositions, like ours, are often fanciful, even magical, and decidedly miniaturelike. That the figure of Orpheus is merely outlined relates this drawing even more directly to the graphic arts, suggesting that the artist may have planned to transfer the carefully finished background to an engraving plate on which someone else had already incised the central figure, a procedure attested by other drawings (see No. 12). It is also possible that the drawing was copied from an unfinished engraving.

We are led even further into the world of engravers, particularly those in the Emilian-Roman milieu, when we compare our sheet with two drawings in the Art Museum, Princeton University: a *Reclining Partly Nude Girl* and an *Adam* after Dürer's 1504 engraving *Adam and Eve* (Bartsch VII.1).⁸ Gibbons has catalogued both those sheets as works of Marcantonio Raimondi belonging to a group of drawings that have in the past been ascribed to the Bayonne Master but are now, especially in the light of Oberhuber's recent studies, thought to have been produced by the young Marcantonio in Bologna and northern Italy before he left for Rome in 1510.⁹ Like Fogolino, Marcantonio is not altogether plausible as the author of this drawing. But the chronological and cultural milieu he worked in brings us, albeit by an indirect route, full circle, back to Raphael, at least in the sense that this may be the work of an artist from Emilia or the Po Valley who was active in the first decades of the Cinquecento and who was aware of the work of the engravers and artists whose allegiance was to a less orthodox Raphaelism.

Among those eccentric followers of Raphael one thinks in particular of the Sienese Baldassare Peruzzi (1481–1536), to whom this drawing was once attributed.¹⁰ Certain drawings ascribed to Peruzzi, though of greater consistency and quality, are in some ways akin to ours, and their cultural makeup is equally complex. Oddly enough, the *Antonius and Furnius* in the British Museum¹¹ and the similar *Death of Cleopatra* in the Louvre¹² were once, like our sheet, attributed to "an old Venetian master." Perhaps more so than in any of the other examples, the figures, the architecture, and the penwork in the two designs in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, for triumphal cars, one carrying a model of the Pantheon,

the other a Colosseum-like building (Fig. 86.1), bear a striking resemblance to those in our drawing.¹³ Somewhat vaguer but nonetheless intriguing is a comparison of our sheet with paintings linked with Peruzzi and other heterodox artists of various extractions. One is reminded, for example, of the frescoes in the Episcopio in Ostia and of those in the Sala delle Guerre Puniche and the Sala della Lupa in the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome that have been connected with Jacopo Ripanda of Bologna.¹⁴ The paintings and drawings by Ripanda and his circle, in particular the sketchbook in the Musée Wicar, Lille, that is signed and dated 1516,¹⁵ bring us very close to the artistic and cultural ambience, the time, and the style of our author.

One further comparison might well prove interesting if verification of it should come to light. In an *Adoration of the Shepherds* in the Louvre (Fig. 86.2), a drawing that Vasari owned and considered one of the few drawings by Girolamo Marchesi da Cotignola,¹⁶ formulas much like those in our drawing were used to delineate the outlines and the shading of the figures, vegetation, and buildings, although the Renaissance architectural elements in the Louvre drawing appear more secure and the composition seems more mature. If the Louvre drawing was from the same hand it would certainly be much later.

Despite, or perhaps because of, all these possibilities for comparison – none of them absolutely conclusive – it is difficult to go beyond an anonymous classification for this drawing or to offer more than a general indication of the cultural world to which it belonged.

NOTES:

1. Oral communication, 1986. Rearick rules out the possibility of a Venetian artist and believes the author to be from the Marches.
2. British Museum, 1920.4.205; Puppi 1961, p. 224, fig. 270.
3. Washington, D.C.–New York 1973–74, no. 91, ill. (with an *Annunciation* after Dürer on the verso).
4. Musée Bonnat, 131; Bean 1960, no. 30, ill.; Puppi 1961, p. 223, fig. 269. Bean added a question mark to his attribution to Fogolino, and he noted that the *Saint Jerome* on the verso may be by another hand.
5. Fondation Custodia, 1346; Byam Shaw 1983, no. 220, pl. 247. Berenson attributed the *Triumph of Chastity* to Carpaccio in a letter to Lugt of January 6, 1939. The hatching on the animals in our drawing also recalls the *Emblems with the Sun, a Wounded Deer, Lions, and a Tree* in the Art Museum, Princeton University (48-557), that Gibbons (1977, no. 765, ill.) has catalogued as North Italian, sixteenth century.
6. See Marchini 1966, which illustrates the frescoes.

7. For discussion of these engravers and their possible identities, see Zucker 1984 and Faietti in Bologna 1988, pp. 213–17.
8. Art Museum, Princeton University, 44–263, 45–47; Gibbons 1977, nos. 505, 506, ill.; Bologna 1988, nos. 46, 52, ill. (see also no. 47).
9. The group of drawings centers around thirteen sheets in the Musée Bonnat, Bayonne (Bean 1960, nos. 225–37). Oberhuber offered a fresh analysis of the subject of the Bayonne Master and Marcantonio's early career in Bologna 1988, pp. 51–88.
10. The old information sheet for this drawing in the Robert Lehman Collection files is headed "Baldassari Peruzzi, attr. to."
11. British Museum, 1933.II.13.1; Pouncey and Gere 1962, no. 237; Frommel 1967–68, no. 7, pl. 7a; Bologna 1988, ill. p. 308.
12. Louvre, 5610; Frommel 1967–68, no. 8, pl. 6a; Bologna 1988, no. 91, ill. Frommel attributed both the British Museum drawing and the one in the Louvre to Peruzzi; in the catalogue of the exhibition in Bologna they are ascribed to Jacopo Ripanda.
13. Victoria and Albert Museum, 2268, 2267; Ward-Jackson 1979–80, nos. 247, 248, ill. (both as school of Peruzzi).
14. For a recent summary of the critical history of these Roman frescoes, see Rome 1984b, pp. 25ff., and Masini 1984, pp. 17–22, with bibliography.
15. Musée Wicar, Palais des Beaux-Arts, 379–92; Florence 1970a, nos. 93, 94, fig. 82. The sketchbook contains scenes derived from various sources composed in a (for then) old-fashioned manner against classicizing architectural backgrounds. First studied by Fiocco (1920, pp. 44–48), they have often been discussed in relation to majolica designs (see Jestaz 1972) and so have a connection with a so-called minor art paralleling that of our drawing with engraving. The Lille sketchbook has now been tentatively ascribed to another Jacopo da Bologna (Bologna 1988, p. 232 and no. 93; Faietti and Oberhuber 1988, p. 55). Also not without interest is a comparison with the sketchbook in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, that Parker (1956, no. 668) catalogued as "style of Jacopo Ripanda" (see also Macandrew 1980, p. 282) but that has recently been attributed to a collaborator of his known as the Oxford Master (Bologna 1988, pp. 167–69, 233; Faietti and Oberhuber 1988).
16. Louvre, 8382; Ragghianti Collobi 1974, p. 120, fig. 375. The drawing has an ornate Vasarian frame that is inscribed: *Girolamo Cotigno / La Pittore*.

PROVENANCE: Philip Hofer, Cambridge (Mass.).

EXHIBITED: New York 1979, no. 30, ill.

Domenico Beccafumi

(Domenico di Giacomo di Pace)

Valdibiena (Siena) 1486(?)–Siena 1551

Little is known of Beccafumi's training and early career in Siena. There can be no doubt, however, that he had studied the work of his Florentine contemporaries in the first decade of the sixteenth century and that that knowledge provided a foundation for what he was to see and absorb when he first visited Rome in 1510–12.

The commissions Beccafumi received soon after his return to Siena in 1513 attest that his reputation was by then well established. In 1514, for instance, he completed the fresco *The Visitation* in the Capella del Manto in the Ospedale di Santa Maria della Scala, for which he had also executed an altarpiece now in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, and sometime between 1513 and 1515 he painted the altarpiece *The Stigmatization of Saint Catherine*, also now in the Pinacoteca, for the monastery of Monte Oliveto near Siena. From 1517 he supplied extraordinary designs for the inlaid marble pavement in Siena Cathedral, and he also worked as a sculptor and a printmaker, producing both engravings and woodcuts in black and white as well as chiaroscuro.

Beccafumi was older than both Rosso and Pontormo, and well before they did, he developed a fabulous and elegant *maniera* that is unmistakable in his numerous drawings and in his more mature and successful paintings in Siena, such as the *Nativity* (1524) in San Martino and the frescoes in the Palazzo Bindi Sergardi (1524–25) and the Sala del Concistoro of the Palazzo Pubblico (1529–35).

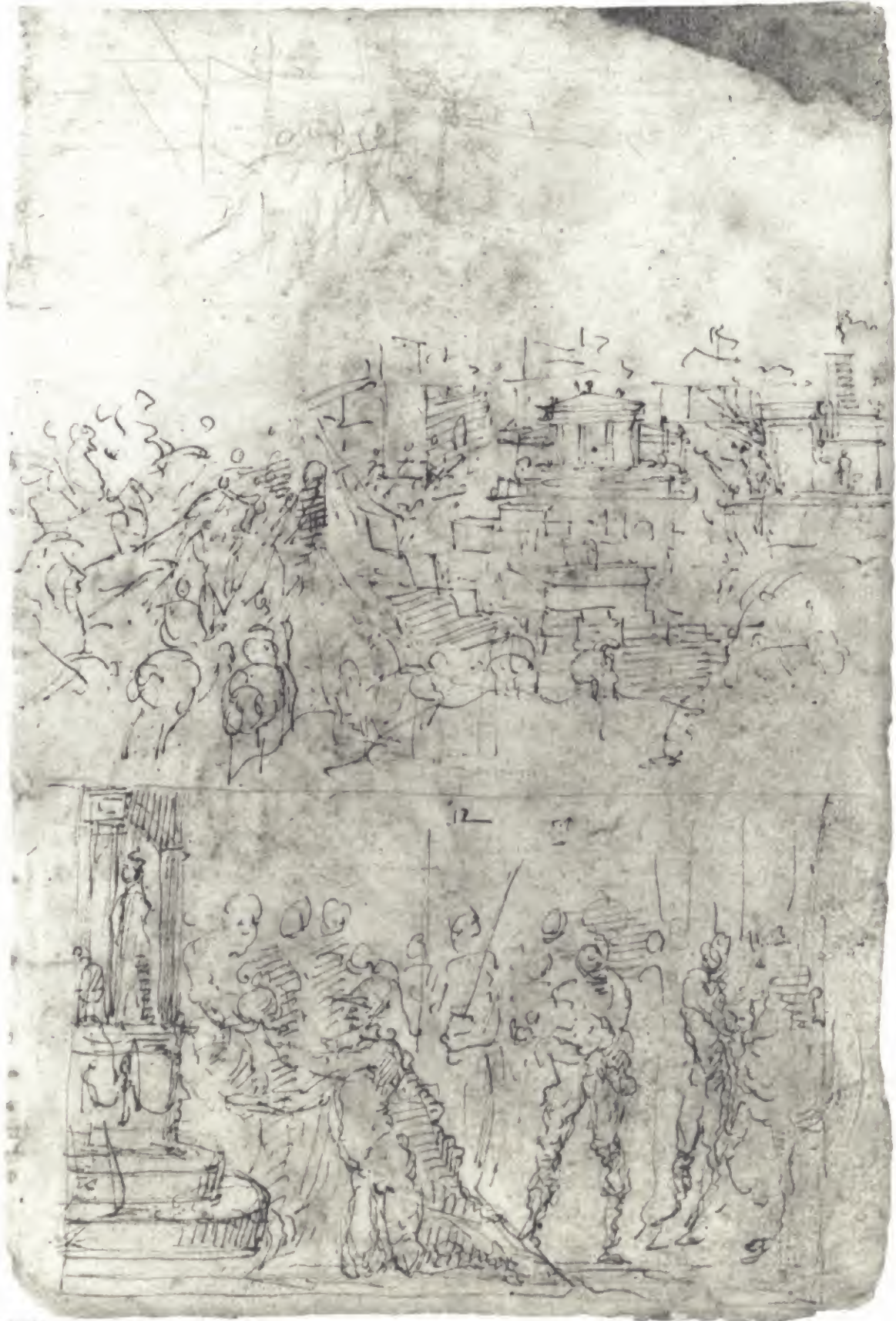
Follower of Domenico Beccafumi

87. Page from a Sketchbook

1975.1.272

Recto: Above, a city under siege; below, a scene of homage(?). Pen and brown ink. At the top, traces of a sketch in red chalk. 218 x 147 mm. Paper smudged with red chalk, perhaps from a drawing placed adjacently; upper right corner stained with gray ink. Inscribed(?) in pen at the center: 12.

Verso: Above, standing figures and a horseman; in the center, male and female figures; below, figures fighting and in discussion. Pen and light brown ink, some of the figures redrawn by the same hand in dark brown ink. Inscribed(?) in pen and brown ink to the right of the top scene: C and L; at the top of the bottom scene: P and 9.



No. 87, recto



Fig. 87.1 (left) Follower of Domenico Beccafumi, *Study for a Facade*. Present location unknown. Photograph: Rinaldo De Liphart Rathshoff in *Rivista d'arte* 17 (1935), p. 193, fig. 59 Fig. 87.2 (right) Domenico Beccafumi, *Studies of Figures for a Sacrifice and Two Studies for the Nativity of San Martino*. Private collection, Saint-Tropez. Photograph: Fiorella Sricchia Santoro, *L'arte a Siena sotto i Medici, 1555-1609* (exhib. cat., Palazzo Pubblico, Siena, 1980), no. 6

This sheet is one of forty-three leaves, twenty of them drawn on both sides, from a sketchbook that was taken apart and sold by Thomas Agnew and Sons in London in 1965.¹ The sheets are now scattered in collections in Europe and the United States.² The sketches, some in red or black chalk, others in pen and ink and wash, vary in theme and type; there are landscapes, figural and architectural motifs, studies for portraits, and ideas for compositions, sometimes, as here, more than one on a page.³

In 1935 De Liphart Rathshoff ascribed the entire sketchbook to Beccafumi because of its obvious connections with his drawing style and with his paintings. Sanminiatielli agreed with that attribution in 1957, concluding that this group of drawings represented the only extant work by Beccafumi before 1512. But by 1967 Sanminiatielli had reconsidered, and in his detailed monograph on Beccafumi he attributed the sketchbook to Marco Pino, who may have spent some time in Beccafumi's workshop. Since then individual sheets have been exhibited or catalogued

under Beccafumi, but no one has done an exhaustive study of the sketchbook as a whole or offered a plausible solution to the problem of its authorship.⁴ As Byam Shaw said in 1983, when "with some reserve" he catalogued the three sheets now in the Lugt collection under Beccafumi, the question is "by no means resolved."

There is indeed a strong resemblance, in both the style and the types of the figures, between these drawings and Beccafumi's known works. But, as Sanminiatielli pointed out in 1967, these sketches are somewhat inferior to Beccafumi's more assured drawings, and many of them appear to be not preparatory studies but rather copies of his paintings or his drawings for paintings. Furthermore, we now know that the sketchbook must date after the late 1530s, not only because of the style of some of the costumes but also because most of the architectural sketches were taken from the third book of Sebastiano Serlio's *Regole generali di architettura sopra le cinque maniere degli edifici*, which was first published in Venice



No. 87, verso

in 1537. That the transcription of an excerpt from Serlio's treatise on one of the sheets in the Lugt collection is not in Beccafumi's handwriting further confuses the issue,⁵ as does the fact that we must eliminate Marco Pino as a possible author now that we are better acquainted with his drawings.⁶ Byam Shaw's caution and uncertainty about the Lugt sheets therefore not only appears quite valid but can also be applied to other drawings from the sketchbook, including those on both sides of our sheet.

De Liphart Rathshoff proposed in 1935 that these sketches represent episodes from the Book of Esther, which at the time was thought to be the subject of Beccafumi's panels in the National Gallery, London. Today, however, the panels are interpreted as scenes from Roman history,⁷ and although there is no iconographic relationship between our drawings and the panels, or any other known scenes painted by Beccafumi, that is probably also the theme of these sketches. The warriors' costumes, the circular-plan edifices, and the Roman altar in the lower band of the recto all suggest that these are episodes from Roman history. The scene at the bottom of the recto seems to represent some sort of homage to a divinity, perhaps by the victor in the siege of the city sketched in the upper band. On the verso, the topmost band seems to depict the consignment of slaves to the conqueror, the middle band another scene of homage(?), and the lower band the slaying of a hostage or an incursion into an enemy camp and, at the right, the reading of a message delivered by an emissary. The way the scenes are arranged in bands suggests that these might be sketches either for or after decorative frescoes on a facade. Although it is earlier than our drawings, one is reminded of Beccafumi's drawing, now in the British Museum, London, for the lost decoration on the facade of the Casa dei Borghesi in Siena.⁸ Our sheet can also be compared with a drawing from the sketchbook that is indeed a study for a facade (Fig. 87.1).⁹

These flaccid, elongated figures and the tremulous short-hand line recall drawings Beccafumi is thought to have made in the 1520s, among them his studies (Fig. 87.2)¹⁰ for the San Martino *Nativity* of 1524 and his sketches for the frescoes of 1524–25 in the Palazzo Bindi Sergardi.¹¹ All those studies seem to be fragments of larger drawings, probably, like our sheet, with several scenes. If, as is possible, the sketchbook contained sheets executed at different times (and by different hands), ours must be among the earliest. Of the many drawings from Beccafumi's circle it is surely among those that are of finer quality and most probably closest to Beccafumi.

NOTES:

1. Robert Lehman was given this sheet as a gift by his son, Robert Owen Lehman, on or about December 24, 1965; the note that accompanied the gift is preserved in the Robert Lehman Collection files.
2. Three of the sheets are now in the Lugt collection, Fondation Custodia, Paris (see Byam Shaw 1983, nos. 94–96, pls. 114–17, fig. 19). Byam Shaw lists other sheets in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam; the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; the Cleveland Museum of Art; Vassar College, Poughkeepsie; and the collections of Eugene Thaw, Lester Avnet, and Mrs. Rudolf Heinemann, New York. See also Gordley 1988, pp. 328–67.
3. See Byam Shaw 1983, no. 94. The sketchbook's flyleaf, which is preserved in the Lugt collection in Paris, is annotated in an eighteenth-century hand: *A Book of Drawings / By / Michael Angelo / was sold at / Rembrandts' Sale in Amsterdam / 1658*. (There is no evidence that Rembrandt's ownership is more than merely legendary.) Byam Shaw also reports that pasted on the verso of the flyleaf is a sheet of paper annotated in pen and ink: *This sketchbook is the property / of Coghlan Briscoe, 43 Rutland Square, Dublin 1928* (last line crossed out) *Dr W. M. Crofton / 22 Park Square / London N.W.1 / 1940 / I bought it from / my friend Coghlan / Briscoe*. With the flyleaf is an undated letter addressed to "Hibbert" and signed "J.B."
4. For a list of the catalogues that have included discussions of sheets from the sketchbook, see Byam Shaw 1983, nos. 94–96, the most exhaustive and penetrating summary of the entire question. Gallavotti Cavallero (1980, p. 225, n. 1) and Barbiellini Amidei (1984, p. 63, under no. 15) merely mention the sketchbook and take no position regarding the difficult matter of attribution. See also Siena 1990, p. 423 (published after this text was completed).
5. See Byam Shaw 1983, no. 95.
6. See Siena 1980, nos. 9, 10, ill., and also Gere and Pouncey 1983, pp. 141–43.
7. See Gould 1962, pp. 16–17, no. 1430.
8. British Museum, 1900.7.17.30; Sanminiatielli 1967, no. 69, ill.
9. De Liphart Rathshoff 1935, no. 59, p. 193, fig. 59.
10. *Studies of Figures for a Sacrifice and Two Studies for the Nativity of San Martino* (Siena 1980, no. 6, ill.), now in a private collection in Saint-Tropez.
11. Florence, Uffizi; 10745F, 10746F, 10751F, 10753F; Sanminiatielli 1967, nos. 46, 47 (ill.), 52, 53 (ill.).

PROVENANCE: John Barnard, London(?); George(?) Hibbert, London; Coghlan Briscoe, Dublin; William M. Crofton, London; sale, Christie's, London, July 7, 1959, lot 95 (entire sketchbook); [Thomas Agnew and Sons, London]. Acquired by Robert Lehman in December 1965.

EXHIBITED: London 1965, no. 13, ill.; New York 1979, no. 8A, B, ill.

LITERATURE: De Liphart Rathshoff 1935, nos. 8, 9, figs. 8, 9; Sanminiatielli 1957, p. 405, n. 9; Sanminiatielli 1967, pp. 186–87, 189; Szabo 1983, p. 66, figs. 49, 50.

Sodoma

(Giovanni Antonio Bazzi, called Il Sodoma)

Vercelli 1477–Siena 1549

Sodoma was born in the Piedmont and trained in the studio of Giovanni Martino Spanzotti, but he spent most of his career in Siena. His sensual, restive interpretation of Leonardo echoed in Sienese, indeed Tuscan, art until the end of the sixteenth century.

Sodoma had arrived in Sienna by 1501, bringing with him a familiarity with the works of Leonardo and his followers in Lombardy and of Pinturicchio and Perugino in Rome. Perugino's influence, in particular, is evident in the frescoes Sodoma executed in 1503–4 for the Olivetan monastery of Sant'Anna in Camprena, near Pienza, and in the scenes from the life of Saint Benedict in the Benedictine monastery of Monte Oliveto Maggiore, just outside Siena. Sodoma completed the Monte Oliveto cycle (which Luca Signorelli had begun) between 1505 and 1508, with the fervid narrative style and sophisticated sense of composition that would later be much imitated.

Sodoma is documented in Rome in 1508 at work on the ceiling of the Stanza della Segnatura in the Vatican, which was later given to Raphael to finish. About 1513–14 he was in Siena working with Domenico Beccafumi on the now-lost frescoes on the facade of the Casa Bardi. In Rome about 1516, under the direct influence of Raphael,

he decorated the walls of a bedroom in the Farnesina, Agostino Chigi's villa, with scenes from the life of Alexander, among them the well-known *Marriage of Alexander and Roxana*. In 1518, in Siena and again alongside Beccafumi, he produced frescoes of scenes from the life of the Virgin in the Oratory of San Bernardino. Many of Sodoma's works of the 1520s and 1530s – such as the banner he painted in 1525 for the Confraternity of San Sebastiano in Camollia (now in the Palazzo Pitti, Florence) and the frescoes of 1526 depicting the life of Saint Catherine in the church of San Domenico at Siena – evince the sometimes excessively morbid mysticism for which he is best remembered and most criticized today.

Sodoma also won several public commissions. In 1529 he decorated the Sala del Mappamondo in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena, and in 1537 he painted frescoes in the Cappella di Piazza there. He worked in Pisa and Piombino as well, and his many assistants and imitators were active throughout the Sienese territories and the provinces of Tuscany. His forceful and idiosyncratic style left a strong imprint on a wide circle of artists, from his contemporaries Pacchia and Beccafumi to a younger generation of masters, among whom only his son-in-law Riccio can be securely identified by name.

Follower of Sodoma

88. Saint Sebastian

1975.I.421

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over black chalk. 264 x 184 mm.

Verso: Sketches in pen and darker brown ink of a male head and a standing figure in a short cape; a copy in black chalk of the figure on the recto. Annotated at the center top in black chalk: *Penni(?)*.

As Szabo pointed out in 1983, the figure on the recto of this sheet is much like the figure of Saint Sebastian on the gonfalon (now in the Palazzo Pitti, Florence) that Sodoma painted in 1525 for the Confraternity of San Sebastiano in Camollia at Siena.¹ The poses of the two figures are not quite the same, however (in the painting the saint, who wears a fluttering loincloth, leans forward

from the waist, and his head is tilted upward and to the right), and they are drawn from slightly different viewpoints. The placement of the arrows differs as well. The pose of our figure bears a closer resemblance to that of Saint Sebastian in the painting *God the Father and Saints* in San Domenico, Siena (Fig. 88.1),² so much so, in fact, that the drawing might perhaps be considered a preparatory study by the hand responsible for the painting, which has been attributed to Sodoma but may be by one of his followers.

The execution of this sheet, with its clear, continuous contours and parallel hatching that merely suggests the modeling subsequently reinforced in light wash, recalls drawings by Sodoma's pupil Bartolomeo Neroni, called



No. 88, recto



Fig. 88.1 Follower of Sodoma, *God the Father and Saints*. San Domenico, Siena. Photograph: Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici, Siena



Fig. 88.2 Bartolomeo Neroni (called Il Riccio), *Sibyl Announcing the Birth of Christ to the Emperor Augustus*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Cornelius Vanderbilt, 1880 (80.3.147)

Il Riccio, who married Sodoma's daughter Faustina in 1542. The same type of figure is depicted in the *Imprisonment of a Saint(?)*, *Baptism of Christ*, and *Saint John the Baptist* in the Uffizi, Florence.³ And the technique is similar in the *Crucifixion* and *Magdalene* by Riccio in the Uffizi⁴ and in the famous *Sibyl Announcing the Birth of Christ to the Emperor Augustus* in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 88.2), which was once attributed to Peruzzi.⁵ The somewhat stiff articulation of the limbs and the way the figure stands out against the background in our drawing, almost as in a bas-relief, are very close to Riccio's approach. In these respects Riccio's style was more indebted to Baldassare Peruzzi, who influenced Riccio's work both as a painter and an architect, than to Sodoma, whose pen and ink drawings allow for a more scattered effect and open the forms to more light. Sodoma also made greater use of sfumato in his more painterly studies in black chalk.

The sketches on the verso of our sheet are even more strongly reminiscent of Peruzzi. The caricatural head, of Northern inspiration, recalls the heads Peruzzi sketched along with other studies on sheets like the one in the British Museum, London.⁶ On the other hand, the full-length figure, perhaps a pilgrim, is rather like certain pen

drawings by Sodoma. A similar "blunt" touch characterizes a pen drawing attributed to Sodoma in the Musée de la Ville, Rennes, that repeats the figure of Saint Sebastian with slight variations (the positions of the arms are reversed, for example).⁷ Then too, small pilgrim figures like this one appear in the background of Sodoma's *Saint Sebastian* on the gonfalon in Florence, and Saint Roch, protector of pilgrims, is among the figures in the *Madonna and Child with Saints* on the back of the banner. But there are echoes here as well of the elongated and fragmented figures of Beccafumi's pen drawings.⁸ The drawings on the verso of our sheet can also be related to sheets attributed to Riccio: analogous pen sketches of heads appear on two sheets in the Uffizi,⁹ two pen studies of a male nude on a sheet in a private collection in Switzerland were drawn in the same peremptory fashion as the head on our sheet,¹⁰ and a similar staccato way of drawing parallel lines with ink is found in the *Roman General Before a Bishop* in the Phillip Pouncey collection, London,¹¹ and a sheet in the Biblioteca Comunale, Siena, which also has a head similar to the one here.¹²

Other than the predella of the altarpiece with the *Coronation of the Virgin* in the Pinacoteca, Siena,¹³ no paintings of this subject by Riccio are known (though the young



No. 88, verso

saint in the *Saint John the Baptist* in the Dino Levi collection, Florence, is of the same general type as our Saint Sebastian).¹⁴ And though our sheet's affinities with his drawings are highly intriguing, the case for his authorship is not fully convincing. It therefore seems advisable to remain closer to the traditional attribution of this sheet and assign it simply to the anonymous following of Sodoma, the milieu that produced both Riccio and the as yet unnamed author of the altarpiece in San Domenico.¹⁵

NOTES:

1. Hayum 1976, no. 24, fig. 60.
2. Ibid., pp. 274–75.
3. Uffizi, 703E, 10968F, 4999S. Very few of Riccio's drawings have been published. Uffizi 703E was reproduced by Petrioli Tofani (1986–87, p. 307), and the sheets in the Louvre, some of which have in the past been attributed to Peruzzi, were published by Monbeig Goguel in 1972 (nos. 100–112).
4. Uffizi 15044F, 1271F.
5. Metropolitan Museum, 80.3.147; Bean and Turčić 1982,

no. 142, ill. Note also that a drawing after the figure of Saint Sebastian on Sodoma's banner is found on a sheet that may have belonged to and been retouched by Van Dyck (see Florence–Milan–Rome 1981, p. 20, ill.). That sheet has been attributed to Riccio, but the style appears to be later and suggests Casolani.

6. British Museum, 1874.8.8.32 (verso); Pouncey and Gere 1962, no. 240, pl. 205.
7. Musée de la Ville, 5714 (290 x 110 mm); photograph Gernsheim 563. In 1990, after this text was submitted, Baudequin published the Rennes drawing as a work of Sodoma's (see Modena–Rennes 1990, no. 15). Baudequin does not consider the Lehman drawing autograph.
8. Oddly enough, two elongated nude figures drawn in pen in a similar fashion are found on a sheet in a Swiss private collection (Bremen–Zurich 1967, no. 54, ill.) that, though it has been attributed to the Ferrarese Lorenzo Costa, has numerous elements typical of the Sienese school in general and of Beccafumi in particular. Like several sheets in the Robert Lehman Collection (see No. 2), this drawing can be traced to the Calceolari–Moscardo collections in Verona.
9. Uffizi, 15038F, 15045F.
10. Bremen–Zurich 1967, no. 59, ill. (as Riccio, on the advice of Gregori, Pouncey, and Busch).
11. Photograph Gernsheim 2772.
12. Biblioteca Comunale, s.III 2, fol. 20; photograph Gernsheim 26213.
13. The predella, which depicts Saint Sebastian and other subjects, is discussed and illustrated by Cornice in Siena 1980, no. 14.
14. See *ibid.*, pp. 27–47, for the most recent information on Riccio as a painter. Cornice and his colleagues in the Soprintendenza di Siena were kind enough to explore for me the question of this drawing's relation to Riccio's paintings; they too are not convinced that the drawing is by him, although they do believe it is by an artist akin to him.
15. In an article published in 1989, after this text was submitted, Dacos attributed this drawing to Bartolomeo di David.

PROVENANCE: Victor Koch, London; Koch sale 1923, lot 28; Herbert Lehman.

EXHIBITED: Poughkeepsie 1942–44; New York 1979, no. 5A, B, ill.

LITERATURE: Szabo 1983, no. 28, ill.; Dacos 1989, p. 141, fig. 9; Modena–Rennes 1990, under no. 15.

Pontormo

(Jacopo Carucci)

Pontorme (Empoli) 1494–Florence 1556

Pontormo, who was to become the major proponent of early Florentine Mannerism, was by about 1512 working alongside Rosso in Andrea del Sarto's shop in Florence. Before that, according to Vasari, he spent brief but not unprofitable periods as an apprentice to Piero di Cosimo and Mariotto Albertinelli, Fra Bartolommeo's collaborator. It also seems probable that he spent some time in Leonardo da Vinci's studio; that aspects of Leonardo's approach were a fundamental part of Pontormo's sensibility is evident even in his last works. He was most influenced, however, by Michelangelo's art, particularly its less obvious, more subtly Mannerist elements.

Pontormo was working on his own as early as 1515, when he supplied decorations and frescoes for Pope Leo X's entry into Florence. Three years later he unveiled his first altarpiece, a *Madonna and Saints* commissioned by the Pucci family for the church of San Michele Visdomini, Florence. Here already was a revolutionary restatement of Andrea del Sarto's teachings in a new, more complex and anxiety-ridden pictorial language. The frescoes Pontormo painted in 1520 in the salon of the Medici villa at Poggio a Caiano would prove to represent a brief episode of calm that scarcely extended beyond their pastoral surfaces. The Passion cycle he created between 1522 and 1525 in the Certosa del Galluzzo, near Florence, marks an almost defiant turn toward the art of Dürer, which Pontormo could have known only through engravings.

Pontormo's painting was a reflection of his personality – somber, tormented, neurotic. But that seems not to have unduly hindered his career. He became an official painter to the Medici, producing portraits, tapestry cartoons, and fresco decorations for the villas at Petraia and Careggi and for the choir of the church of San Lorenzo (now lost but documented by very fine drawings). Besides his highly sensitive portraits, his masterpieces include the *Visitation* in the parish church in Carmignano and the paintings he produced between 1525 and 1528 for the Capponi Chapel in Santa Felicita in Florence. Pontormo had few immediate followers – among them Bronzino, who succeeded him on various commissions and in the favor of the Medici, and Giovan Battista Naldini – but his work as both a painter and a draftsman had a long-lasting effect in Tuscany, not least because of the rich corpus of fine drawings preserved in Florence.

Follower of Pontormo

89. Two Studies of a Seated Male Nude

1975.I.281

Black chalk. 370 x 203 mm.

When this drawing appeared in the Reitlinger sale in 1953 it bore an attribution to Pontormo, perhaps suggested by the figure's bald head and somewhat hallucinated look, as well as by the fact that it is restudied, in Pontormo-like fashion, on a smaller scale at the bottom of the sheet. That attribution was repeated in the H. M. Calmann catalogue of 1958 and the Seiferheld catalogue of 1961, and Berenson, too, catalogued the sheet as by Pontormo when he published it in 1961 (though the photograph of it in the Berenson library at the Harvard Center for Renaissance Studies at Villa I Tatti, Florence, is filed under Bronzino). In 1964, however, Cox Rearick asserted that although this drawing has "a superficial connection with Pontormo's nudes of the late thirties, . . . the chiaroscuro is softer than Pontormo's and lacks his usual precise definition of forms, while the line is flat and without rhythmic accent." This figure, she said, "reveals the influence not so much of Pontormo but of the later Bronzino, to whose tradition this drawing of toward 1600 probably belongs."

Van Schaack had already, in 1962, attributed the drawing unequivocally to Bronzino himself. He considered both these figures studies for the young shepherd seated at the right in Bronzino's *Adoration of the Shepherds* (Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest), which according to Vasari was painted for Filippo Salviati about 1535–40.¹ If this drawing resembles any figure in the painting, however, it would be the elderly shepherd holding bagpipes in a vaguely similar pose at the right in the middle distance. Furthermore, the instrument, probably a syrinx, that our figure holds not only is decidedly unusual in a nude study but would also be quite out of place in a study for an Adoration. Van Schaack suggested that the syrinx might be "the residual emblem of a piece of antique statuary which was the basis of the pose," and this nude figure could very well have been inspired by a sculpture, in view of its obvious vigor and the fact that it is draped and reduced to more elegant Mannerist proportions only in the small sketch below. Be that as it may, the presence of the syrinx assures us that the figure was conceived not for an Adoration but rather for a mythological scene like the *Apollo and Marsyas* (Hermitage, Leningrad) that was once attributed to Correggio but is now almost universally accepted as Bronzino's.² Our draw-

ing bears no resemblance, however, either to that painting or to the only known preparatory drawing for it, the *Marsyas Playing a Panpipe* in the Louvre, Paris.³

When Szabo published this sheet in 1983 he also ascribed it to Bronzino, reiterating Van Schaack's argument. He compared our drawing with Bronzino's *Study for Saint Michael* in the Louvre, which is a study for the ceiling of the Chapel of Eleonora in the Palazzo Vecchio, Florence.⁴ But that very comparison, like any other one might choose to make with the assured drawings by Bronzino, rules out any possibility of ascribing this sheet to him. Bronzino's figures are far more stylized than this rather flaccid giant with a boyish face, and the line here is too heavy and the chiaroscuro too soft and unincisive to be from his hand.

Although certain weaknesses in this drawing preclude attributing it to either Pontormo or Bronzino, it is by no means of minor quality, as its impressive pedigree attests. Pontormo and Bronzino were certainly the tutelary deities presiding over this sheet's author, who had to have been a fairly well educated artist not only trained in the art of depicting the nude human figure but capable of producing elegant sketches like the small, draped figure here. Bronzino's most direct follower, Alessandro Allori, naturally comes to mind, but his drawings, too, bear only an occasional superficial resemblance to this one.⁵ And most of Bronzino's and Pontormo's many other followers and imitators are too little known as draftsmen to allow us to single out any one of them. The emphatic plasticity of this figure, deliberately contrasted with the softness of the chiaroscuro and echoing the Michelangelesque ideas popularized by Daniele da Volterra, might lead one to suspect that it was drawn by a sculptor who was acquainted with Bandinelli's drawings, not the typical rhythmic pen sketches but the chalk drawings that were perhaps studied more directly from life. Here again, however, our knowledge of drawings by Tuscan sculptors working in the mid-sixteenth century – Vincenzo de' Rossi, Niccolò Tribolo, and their contemporaries – does not permit us to point to any particular name.⁶

NOTES:

1. Emiliani 1960, p. 64, pls. 30–32.
2. Voss 1920, vol. 1, figs. 67–68 (as Bronzino).
3. Louvre, 5923; *ibid.*, pp. 208–9; Emiliani 1960, pp. 62–63, pl. 10; Smyth 1971, p. 53 (all as Bronzino).
4. Louvre, 6356; Smyth 1971, pp. 7–8, fig. 8.
5. See, for example, three studies of male figures in the Uffizi: 10202F, 10236F, and 10289F (photographs S.B.A.S. 169061, 169112, 127749; Gernsheim 39737, 39733). Drawings Allori made as a youth, when he was closer to Bronzino, are even



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more remote from our example. The drawing in the Royal Library, Windsor Castle (0447), that is a copy after Bronzino's study in the Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden, for a crouching figure in his *Christ in Limbo* (see Schaefer 1976, pls. 10, 11) and three studies of male nudes in the Uffizi (10320F [also a copy after Bronzino], 10263F, 99351; Florence 1970b, nos. 3, 8, 9, figs. 3, 5, 6) are all cases in point.

6. On drawings by Tuscan sculptors of the Cinquecento, see Monbeig Goguel 1979. For drawings by de' Rossi, see No. 92, note 4. For Tribolo, see Florence 1980b, pp. 217–18, and for his drawings, see in particular Aschoff 1967.

PROVENANCE: Joshua Reynolds, London (Lugt 2364); Thomas Lawrence, London (Lugt 2445); Charles Greville, England (Lugt 549); H. S. Reitlinger, London (Lugt Suppl. 2274a); Reitlinger sale 1953, lot 85; [H. M. Calmann, London]; [Seiferheld Gallery, New York].

EXHIBITED: New York 1979, no. 24, ill.

LITERATURE: Calmann catalogue 1958, no. 9, ill.; Berenson 1961, no. 2255B; Seiferheld catalogue 1961, no. 2, pl. 2; Van Schaack 1962, no. 6; Cox Rearick 1964, p. 399, no. A233; Szabo 1983, no. 38, ill.

Pier Francesco Foschi

Florence 1502–Florence 1567

That Vasari said Foschi was Andrea del Sarto's pupil has long been all that was known about him. It appears likely, however, that he stayed on in Andrea's workshop until the master's death in 1530. Soon after that, he established himself with *Saint Peter and the Beato Filippo Benizzi* for San Frediano a Settimo (Pisa) and a *Madonna and Saints* for San Barnaba, Florence. In his best-known works – the three altarpieces in Santo Spirito, Florence – reminiscences of Andrea del Sarto mingle with echoes of Michelangelo and the shriller palette of Bachiacca. Foschi would in turn impart his style to his pupils who worked in the Studiolo of Francesco I in the Palazzo Vecchio.

Late in his career Foschi used familiar Quattrocento compositional schemes to exemplify the more rigorous dictates of the Counter-Reformation. He was a prolific portraitist in the tradition of Bronzino and Salviati, but his portraits have psychological accents that are very much his own. Though few of his drawings have been identified, he was also an accomplished draftsman, with an approach that recalls Sarto and Sogliani but with Rosso-like spurts of Mannerism in both the technique and the compositions.

Pier Francesco Foschi(?)

90. Portrait of a Young Woman

1975.I.411

Metalpoint, touches of red chalk in the costume, on gray prepared paper. 176 x 133 mm. Laid down. Some losses at the corners and along the edges. Annotated in pen and brown ink at the lower right: 5.

The very number of great names that have been associated with this drawing – Lorenzo di Credi, Andrea del Sarto, Rosso, and Pontormo – speaks for the improbability of a clear attribution to any one of them. We can say, however, that the author of this portrait was Florentine, and that the drawing was made no later than the 1530s.

The attribution to Lorenzo di Credi, under which the drawing appeared in the Russell sale of 1928 and which perhaps was suggested by the old-fashioned technique of metalpoint on prepared paper (see No. 81), can be dismissed immediately. As can the tentative attribution



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to “circle of Andrea del Sarto” that appears only on a note attached to a photograph of the sheet in the Berenson library at the Harvard Center for Renaissance Studies at Villa I Tatti, Florence (though Andrea, unlike Lorenzo, is at least chronologically possible). Pontormo’s name was put forth in the catalogue of the Oppenheimer sale in 1936, and it is written on another photograph of

the drawing at I Tatti. But when Berenson published the sheet in 1938 he listed it as “school of Pontormo,” quite rightly not fully convinced of the affinity between this delicate yet rather stiff portrait and the style and quality of Pontormo’s authentic drawings. Sharing that doubt, Béguin exhibited the drawing in Paris in 1957 as “attributed to Pontormo” and compared it with two portraits



Fig. 90.1 Pier Francesco Foschi, *Head of a Woman*. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence. Photograph: Antonio Pinelli in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 6, 69 (1967), p. 88, fig. 1

that are themselves uncertainly ascribed to Pontormo: the *Lady with a Basket of Spindles* in the Uffizi, Florence, and the *Lady with a Lap Dog* in the Städelches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main. In any case, the two paintings, one from about the 1520s and the other from between 1530 and 1540, are both much later than the date of about 1515 that Béguin herself proposed for the Lehman sheet on the basis of the style of the clothing.

In 1964 Cox Rearick decisively rejected the idea that either Lorenzo di Credi or Pontormo could have drawn this portrait. She described as plausible Carroll's suggestion that it be assigned instead to Rosso Fiorentino and dated about 1515. Carroll then discussed the drawing in detail in the dissertation he completed in 1968. As would anyone wishing to insist on Rosso (who is at least an interesting possibility) as the author of this sheet, however, Carroll was forced to base his argument largely on comparisons with such early paintings by Rosso as the *Portrait of a Young Woman* of about 1514 in the Uffizi, Florence, and the *Portrait of a Young Man* of about 1516 in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin.¹ All those paintings show the effects of both Rosso's training under Andrea del Sarto and the new, perturbing influence of the early work

of his friend Pontormo.² So far as we know, during those years Rosso produced no drawings of this type or in this medium, and his later drawings are quite unlike this one. Moreover, this young woman shows no trace of the subtle, almost diabolical irony that lurks in everything Rosso touched, even when he was closest to Andrea del Sarto.

Our drawing is indeed a product of the same cultural milieu, however. Although it is done in chalk and the composition and characterization of the sitter are more sophisticated, a fine drawing of a woman's head in the Albertina, Vienna, which has been attributed to Pontormo but is probably by Andrea, is somewhat akin to our portrait in the delicate modeling of the planes of the face and the folds in the veil.³ The sitter for the Albertina drawing wears a costume much like our young woman's, in a style that can be dated to the end of the 1520s. Similar headdresses and garments – a tight, square-necked bodice and an undergarment with a rounded neckline, dropped shoulders, and puffed sleeves – appear in other Florentine portraits of the same period or slightly later, among them Parmigianino's *Antea* (Museo di Capodimonte, Naples), Bronzino's *Lucrezia Panciatichi* (Uffizi, Florence), and the *Lady with a Lap Dog* (Städelches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main) that has been attributed to Pontormo. They can also be found in works by lesser-known artists of the same circle, such as the *Portrait of a Lady* in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, that has been ascribed to Pier Francesco Foschi, who, like Rosso and Pontormo, was Andrea del Sarto's pupil.⁴

We may in fact hypothesize that the Lehman portrait was drawn by Foschi in his early years. The figures in Foschi's paintings often have similar full, rather unexpressive features. Though they are both later than our drawing and executed in pen and wash, the heads of the figures in two drawings by Foschi – the *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints* in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford,⁵ and the study in the Alfred Scharf collection, London, for the tabernacle of 1545 in the Villa Rumi at Ponte a Ema (Florence)⁶ – bear no small resemblance to this young woman's. The Oxford drawing, like ours, is on prepared paper. Our drawing and an early chalk drawing in the Uffizi (Fig. 90.1),⁷ a *Head of a Woman* that is signed *pier francia* and is a copy after Andrea del Sarto's *Saint Agnes* in the cathedral of Pisa, were executed in a similar smooth, assured hand, the different mediums notwithstanding. This confluence of elements, all Florentine but also a little against the mainstream of Florentine art of the 1530s, lends credence to the hypothesis that this portrait was a precocious experiment by the young Foschi, still very much in the sway of Andrea del Sarto but al-

ready impressed by the Mannerism of Rosso and Pontormo. On the whole, the delicate but incisive, almost scratchy line, in a by then outmoded medium, recalls not only Fra Bartolommeo and Sogliani but also Franciabigio, with whom Foschi has often been confused. The firm, polished modeling anticipates the work of Foschi's mature years, when he grew closer to Bronzino.

NOTES:

1. Carroll (1968) 1976, pp. 95–100, 108–11, P.4, P.8, figs. 6, 12.
2. The head of Saint James in the *Madonna of the Girdle* in the church of San Michele at Volognano (Rignano sull'Arno), which Berti (1983, fig. 1) has ascribed to Rosso and which would date from the same formative phase of his career, also has some analogy with that of our young woman, but the altarpiece is of too early a date to be evaluated in this context. It was shown in Florence in 1980 (Florence 1980b, no. 450) as probably by Rosso.
3. Albertina, 164.R.220; Berenson 1961, no. 2368C (as Pontormo); Cox Rearick 1964, p. 411, no. A367 (as a copy of the late sixteenth century after a portrait of ca. 1510–15 of the type of Bugiardini's *La Monaca*); Koschatzky, Oberhuber, and Knab 1972, no. 30, ill. (as Andrea del Sarto).
4. Rijksmuseum, 1896.E2; Rijksmuseum catalogue 1960, p. 245 (as Pontormo). The entry in the Rijksmuseum catalogue states that the painting has also been ascribed to Bronzino and P. F. Foschi. The old (original?) frame bears the Medici arms. For Foschi, see Pinelli 1967. Pinelli illustrates two of Foschi's drawings and several of his portraits.
5. Parker 1956, no. 495 (as Domenico Puligo[?], but with the caveat that Foschi deserves consideration as an alternative); Forlani Tempesti in Florence 1980b, no. 218, ill.
6. Forlani Tempesti in Florence 1980b, no. 221, ill.
7. Uffizi, 6420F; Pinelli 1967, p. 88, fig. 1 (as Foschi).

PROVENANCE: Charles Fairfax Murray, London; Archibald G. B. Russell, London (Lugt Suppl. 2770a); Russell sale 1928, lot 68, ill.; Henry Oppenheimer, London; Oppenheimer sale 1936, lot 150, pl. 37; Philip Hofer, Cambridge (Mass.).

EXHIBITED: Cambridge (Mass.) 1940, no. 5; Paris 1957, no. 120; Cincinnati 1959, no. 217, ill.; New York 1979, no. 19, ill.

LITERATURE: Berenson 1938, no. 2370D; Berenson 1961, no. 2370D; Cox Rearick 1964, pp. 398–99, no. A232; Carroll (1968) 1976, pp. 185–90, D.4, fig. 11; Szabo 1983, fig. 51.

Francesco Salviati

(Francesco or Cecchino de' Rossi)

Florence 1510–Rome 1563

Francesco, or Cecchino, de' Rossi took the name Salviati from his patron, Cardinal Giovanni Salviati, under whose sponsorship he made his first trip to Rome in 1531–32. Before that he had studied in Florence, first as a goldsmith and then as a painter, with Giuliano Bugiardini, Andrea del Sarto, and Baccio Bandinelli. In Bandinelli's studio he met and became friends with Giorgio Vasari. Salviati's works from those early years in Florence have been lost, but much remains of his prolific later activity, especially in Florence and Rome. He also worked in Bologna, Venice (for the Grimani, about 1539–40), Parma, Mantua (where he studied the works of Giulio Romano), Verona, and France (1554–55). The *Triumph of Furius Camillus* and the *Pact Between the Romans and the Gauls*, the frescoes he painted about 1544–46 in the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence to commemorate the achievements of Cosimo de' Medici, were of particular importance for the development of the local Mannerist style. In Rome in the late 1540s for Cardinal Alessandro Farnese he decorated the Chapel of the Pallio in the Palazzo della Cancelleria and the Salone in the Palazzo Farnese, and during the early 1550s he painted frescoes and designed *stucchi* in the Palazzo Sacchetti. Also significant are his late frescoes in the Sala Regia in the Vatican, where he worked in competition with, among others, Daniele da Volterra.

In addition to his work in fresco, Salviati was much in demand among the Italian nobility and bourgeoisie as a portraitist, and he fulfilled a number of ecclesiastical commissions. He also designed ephemeral decorations and produced cartoons for tapestries and designs for goldsmiths' work, prints, and book illustrations. He was a tireless draftsman, and his well-documented drawing style can be traced in numerous examples dispersed in many European collections. His later works, synthesizing an elegant and refined decorative sensibility with a broad knowledge of Florentine, Emilian, and Roman Mannerism, were enormously influential in Italy and northern Europe throughout the second half of the sixteenth century.

Francesco Salviati(?)

91. Jupiter and Io

1975.I.321

Pen and brown ink, brush and brown wash, over traces of black chalk; squared in red chalk. 236 x 179 mm.

Verso: Sketch of a male figure stabbing himself in the chest. Pen and gray ink. Stained. Annotated in pen and brown ink: N° 7 and 62(? obliterated); and in pencil: G.

The story of Jupiter and the beautiful Io, daughter of Inachus, the king of Argos, is told in the first book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Having first enveloped Argos in a thick cloud, Jupiter caught Io and ravished her. Mindful of her husband's past infidelities, Juno dispersed the cloud, but not before Jupiter had again attempted to deceive her by changing Io into a white heifer.

Perhaps because of the obvious Michelangelesque traits of the figures, Szabo attributed this drawing to Daniele da Volterra, who often copied Michelangelo's figures. Michelangelo's *Dawn* on the Medici tombs in San Lorenzo was obviously the inspiration for Io. Hirst, who suggests that this drawing is by an artist in Daniele's circle, has recently pointed out to me that from the way the figure of Io is foreshortened one can deduce that the artist copied Michelangelo's sculpture after it was installed in the Medici Chapel in San Lorenzo in Florence in 1546.¹ The skill with which the foreshortening is handled and the compactness of the forms in our drawing do imply that it was made by someone adept at translating sculpture into two dimensions. None of Daniele's works treat this particular subject, however, and his approach was more purely Michelangelesque than this. In the drawings that have been securely attributed to him, most of which are in red or black chalk, the forms are fuller and more plastic.²

These figures, with their small heads and elegantly elongated limbs, evince a more complex kind of Mannerism. So do the Parmese and Perinesque linear motifs, the uninhibited narrative taste derived from Raphael's epigones in Rome, and the decidedly Florentine line enriched with wash and accents of light, for instance in the landscape background, that are distantly reminiscent of the art of the Veneto. All these characteristics, together with the Michelangelesque forms of the figures, lead us to put forth, if tentatively, the name of Francesco Salviati. Although this particular subject occurs in none of Salviati's documented works, many of the figures in his paintings and drawings were modeled on Michelangelo's statues on the Medici tombs, particularly *Night* and *Dawn*. The

figures in Salviati's frescoes of 1539 in the Palazzo Grimani in Venice and those in the *Seasons* in the Chigi Chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome, were so inspired, as were Bathsheba's handmaidens in his frescoes in the Palazzo Sacchetti in Rome.³ And there are drawings by Salviati after Michelangelo's *Night* at Chatsworth⁴ and copies by him of *Night* and *Dawn* in the British Museum, London.⁵ The *Dawn* in the British Museum is drawn from the same viewpoint as Io is here, and two other drawings by Salviati in the British Museum are of nudes in similar poses.⁶ The same pose was also used for Juno in *Juno and Ixion*, a sixteenth-century engraving that Voss believed to be after a drawing by Salviati.⁷ Closest to our drawing, however, is the *Female Figure in a Landscape* in the Uffizi.⁸ The Uffizi drawing and ours are similar in general composition, including the small figures in the background, and in both the line is less agitated and concentrated than is the case in Salviati's more secure drawings. It was thus not without some reason that Cheney listed the Uffizi sheet among the drawings that have been attributed to Salviati but for which there is not sufficient evidence to link them unquestionably to his oeuvre – a designation that also fits this drawing.

Though it is larger and more finished than they are, our drawing also has much in common with four other drawings in the Uffizi that Cheney listed as attributed to Salviati.⁹ Without suggesting that they are necessarily by the same hand as ours, we can say that the Uffizi drawings evoke a similar milieu and a Tuscan-trained artist who was much affected by the work of his contemporaries in Rome about mid-century. Those drawings, all in pen and brown ink with brown wash and all squared in black chalk, were obviously intended for lunettes in a decorative ensemble on a mythological theme for a loggia or a hall in a palace. The Lehman *Jupiter and Io*, which is also squared for transfer and was undoubtedly made with a particular destination in mind, would have fit without difficulty into such a scheme, perhaps as the centerpiece in a ceiling or part of a wall frieze.

Even more so than the recto, the verso of our sheet, with its theme of heroic suicide and classicizing composition, brings to mind the art of mid-sixteenth-century Rome. Szabo ascribed the cruder and more summary drawing on the verso to a different hand. It could, however, be simply a quick sketch hastily jotted down by the same artist.¹⁰



No. 91, recto



No. 91, verso

NOTES:

1. Hirst, oral communication, 1985. Hirst also pointed out that Daniele used the same pose, although somewhat more relaxed, for Dido in his painting *Mercury's Announcement to Aeneas*, which is now known only through a copy in a private collection and through Daniele's chalk studies. For Daniele's painting and the relevant drawings, see Barolsky 1979, fig. 73, p. 98.
2. For the few pen drawings attributed to Daniele, see Barolsky 1979, pp. 123–25.
3. Hirst discussed and illustrated the frescoes in the Palazzo Grimani in Venice in 1963. For the frescoes in Rome, see Cheney 1963b, chap. 7, and Dumont 1973.
4. Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth Settlement, 14; Cheney 1963b, p. 562.

5. British Museum, 1946.7.13.371, 1900.8.24.118; *ibid.*, pp. 526–27; Hirst 1963, p. 156, fig. 13.
6. British Museum, 1946.7.13.520, 1946.7.13.20; Cheney 1963b, p. 527; Monbeig Goguel 1978, fig. 22, p. 22.
7. Bartsch xv.99 (as after Perino del Vaga); Voss 1920, p. 250 (as after Salviati); Providence 1973, no. 88; Florence 1980b, no. 730, ill.; Boorsch and Spike 1985, p. 204 (as Caraglio[?] after Perino del Vaga[?]).
8. Uffizi, 608F; Cheney 1963b, pp. 570–71 (as attributed to Salviati).
9. Uffizi, 15982F (*Mythological Scene*), 15983F (*Mythological Scene*), 15985F (*Danaë*), 15986F (*Europa*); *ibid.*, pp. 576–77 (as attributed to Salviati). According to annotations on the mounts, Gere has suggested that these drawings are by Andreani, and both Pouncey and Oberhuber have ascribed them to the school of Giulio Romano.
10. The sketch on the verso can be compared with a sheet of figure studies and ornamental motifs in the Uffizi (1003E, particularly the verso), which Cheney (1963b, p. 567) catalogued as attributed to Salviati and Pouncey (in a note on the mount) referred to the circle of Pellegrino Tibaldi, and with the *Study of Reclining Nudes*, which has on its verso a half-length female figure and a grotesque head very much like the one here, in the Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin (47.112, a gift of Robert Lehman; Stechow 1976, no. 68, figs. 105, 106 [as Daniele da Volterra]).

PROVENANCE: [Prejean, Paris(?)]. Acquired by Robert Lehman in November 1955.

EXHIBITED: New York 1979, no. 35A, B, ill.

LITERATURE: Szabo 1983, no. 41, ill.

Baccio Bandinelli

Florence 1493–Florence 1560

Bandinelli's first teacher was his father, Michelangelo di Viviano, a goldsmith. He later worked in the studio of the sculptor Giovan Francesco Rustici, who collaborated with Leonardo, where he learned the techniques of drawing and sculpting and was among the most assiduous of the young students who copied the cartoons by Leonardo and Michelangelo in the great Council Hall of the Palazzo Vecchio. He was impressed above all with the profound study of the structure and forms of the human body in Michelangelo's cartoon, and Michelangelo would remain his more or less explicit ideal even after the two men fell out. We know that Bandinelli was also well acquainted with the art of Donatello, and drawings after Donatello's reliefs have been attributed to him. He looked as well to classical models, as his well-known marble copy of the *Laocoön* group attests. But there is also evidence in his work, especially his drawings, of a more contemporary stimulus from Rosso Fiorentino.

Despite his difficult character and the rivalry with Michelangelo stirred up by Vasari, Bandinelli became the official sculptor for the Medici not only in Florence but also in Rome, where he worked for both Leo X and Clement VII and in 1536 was hired to decorate their tombs in Santa Maria sopra Minerva. His *Hercules and Cacus* was sculpted in 1534 for Cosimo I de' Medici as a companion piece to Michelangelo's *David*, and for the same patron he created the monument to Giovanni delle Bande Nere for the Piazza di San Lorenzo in Florence. Also through Cosimo he received commissions for work in Genoa and Bologna as well as for his last project, the marble choir screen and high altar in Florence Cathedral.

Bandinelli headed a thriving school where a fundamental part of the training involved learning to draw both from the live model and from antique and contemporary reliefs. He himself produced a great number of drawings in pen and in black or red chalk, but they are still often confused with those of his pupils and imitators, many of whom have yet to be identified.



No. 92

School of Baccio Bandinelli

92. A Seated Man Declaiming from a Book

1975.I.267

Pen and brown ink. 310 x 194 mm. Fully laid down on an old mount. Red chalk and various other stains; lower right corner torn; top edge trimmed. Annotated in pencil on the mount, perhaps in an eighteenth-century hand: *B: Bandinelli*.

According to Popham, it was the eighteenth-century collector John Skippe who wrote Bandinelli's name in pencil on the mount of this drawing.¹ Popham maintained the attribution to Bandinelli in the catalogue of the Skippe sale in 1958, as did Szabo when he published the drawing in 1979 and 1983. When one compares this sheet with authentic drawings by Bandinelli, however, one becomes convinced that it is not by the same hand.

True, Bandinelli's graphic oeuvre is still in need of clarification. The situation has really not changed very much since 1937, when Middeldorf deplored the fact that many of Bandinelli's own drawings had been confused "with a flood of copies and imitations made both during his own lifetime and during several succeeding generations."² As Middeldorf said, the genuine drawings might be isolated from the rest either by extricating those drawings that can be more securely ascribed to Bandinelli through external evidence or by identifying the works of some of his contemporaries, pupils, and imitators. Neither avenue has yet been thoroughly explored. There are but a handful of authenticated Bandinelli drawings in certain methodically catalogued collections, and only a few groups of studies for particular works have been identified.³ Then too, little progress has been made toward defining the graphic production of the artists associated with Bandinelli, with the exception of his pupils Vincenzo de' Rossi⁴ and Giovanni Bandini, also known as Giovanni dell'Opera (see No. 93).⁵ Furthermore, the often indiscriminate shift to Bandinelli's name of many sheets traditionally ascribed to his contemporary Rosso Fiorentino has not helped matters.⁶ Despite certain instances of close affinity, Rosso's drawings are always more "truly" visionary and luminous than Bandinelli's.

This drawing is undoubtedly a product of Bandinelli's circle. In its unequivocal linework it does seem to relate to drawings ascribed to Bandini — Ward, in fact, believes this is Bandini's own work.⁷ Yet Bandini's figures are as a rule more stylized and his way of drawing more assured than this. And the summary treatment, for example of the legs and left shoulder, cannot be explained away simply as evidence of haste, but instead suggests that this is most likely a sketch by a pupil who used one of his com-

panions as a model. Sketching fellow artists or workshop assistants in everyday dress and in natural poses was customary in Florentine workshops and had been at least since Pollaiuolo's time. Bandinelli himself often used his assistants as models, although he usually portrayed them sculpting or painting.⁸ His *Accademia*, the drawing that was engraved by both Enea Vico and Agostino Veneziano in 1531,⁹ might provide a clue to the date of our sheet. It could serve only as a terminus post quem, however, for this relaxed young man is portrayed with a naturalness that would not become typical of Florentine art until the second half of the sixteenth century.

NOTES:

1. Nos. 11, 13, 29, and 93 were also owned by Skippe, and all but No. 11 were acquired by Robert Lehman at the Skippe sale in 1958. Popham asserted in his prefatory note to the catalogue of the sale that he had recorded all the attributions, "however fantastic," that Skippe had written on the mounts of the drawings in his collection. The ascription to Donatello on the mount of No. 93 is in the same hand, and the mounts themselves of both No. 92 and 93 are much like that on a drawing in Chantilly (see No. 93, note 9) that has also been attributed to Bandinelli. For the history of the Skippe collection, see Popham's introduction to the 1958 catalogue, which was based on the manuscript of a catalogue Popham had prepared in 1939 at the request of Mrs. A. C. Rayner-Wood. Szabo claimed in 1983 that Nos. 92 and 93, like No. 13, were once in the collection of J. Pietersz. Zoomer in Amsterdam, but Zoomer's mark appears on neither of these drawings, and Popham makes no reference to their having been owned by him.
2. Middeldorf 1937, p. 291.
3. See, for example, Pouncey 1961, on groups of drawings for the painting *Leda and the Swan*; Heikamp 1964b, on studies for the work in Florence Cathedral; Heikamp 1966, on drawings for the monument to Andrea Doria; Ciardi Duprè 1966a and 1966b; and Ward 1981. For other drawings by Bandinelli, see also Petrioli Tofani 1982, pp. 68–71; Ward 1982; and Cambridge 1988. Comparing our drawing with all these makes clear that it is by a different hand.
4. Heikamp made a start toward identifying the drawings of Vincenzo de' Rossi in 1964. See also Monbeig Goguel 1972; Petrioli Tofani in Florence 1980b, pp. 186–90; and Utz 1971 (in part refuted by Ward 1981, p. 6, n. 16).
5. See Middeldorf 1939. Middeldorf's work on Bandini's drawings has not been followed up.
6. On the still not fully resolved question of Bandinelli's and Fiorentino's drawings, see Carroll (1968) 1976 and 1971.
7. Oral communication to Kanter.
8. See, for instance, the drawings of male figures by Bandinelli in the Musée Bonnat, Bayonne (663.2; Bean 1960, no. 2, ill.); the Graphische Sammlung, Munich (2217; Halm, Degenhart, and Wegner 1958, no. 55, ill.); and the National Gallery, Edinburgh (D710; Andrews 1968, no. 105).
9. Bartsch xv.49, xiv.418; Florence 1980b, nos. 688, 687.

PROVENANCE: John Skippe, the Upper Hall, Ledbury, England (see Lugt 1529a–b); his sister, Penelope Skippe, married in 1774 to James Martin, Overbury Court, Worcestershire; James Martin's son, Old Colwall, Malvern; by descent through his mother to Edward Holland; his sister, Mrs. A. C. Rayner-Wood; his nephew, Edward Holland-Martin; Skippe sale 1958, lot 108. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1958.

EXHIBITED: New York 1979, no. 18, ill.

LITERATURE: Szabo 1983, no. 36, ill.

Giovanni Bandini

(called Giovanni dell'Opera)

Castello (Florence) 1540–Florence 1599

Giovanni Bandini entered Baccio Bandinelli's workshop at a very young age. He was probably about fifteen years old when he began assisting Bandinelli on the choir screen in Florence Cathedral, and after Bandinelli's death in 1560 he carried on the work. He also executed two statues of apostles for the cathedral. Bandini had already been proposed for membership in the Accademia del Disegno by 1564, when he was asked to decorate the catafalque for Michelangelo's funeral in San Lorenzo. The sculpture representing Architecture he made for the catafalque so impressed the grand duke that he commissioned a statue of the same subject for Michelangelo's tomb in Santa Croce. The marble reliefs on the elaborate choir screen in the cathedral were finished in 1572, but Bandini stayed on in Florence working for the Opera del Duomo (hence his nickname) until 1582, when he was called to Urbino as court sculptor.

Bandini was a highly gifted portraitist, as his busts of Cosimo I and Francesco I de' Medici show. His graphic style is clear and precise but often rather archaizing. Many of his drawings are still attributed erroneously to Bandinelli.

Giovanni Bandini

93. Standing Apostle

1975.I.268

Pen and brown ink. 381 x 156 mm. Laid down on an old mount. Corners cut. Annotated in pencil on the mount in an eighteenth-century hand: *Donatello* (partially trimmed away).

In the Skippe sale catalogue of 1958 Popham attributed this drawing to Baccio Bandinelli.¹ He related it to a series of drawings of apostles – in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan;² the Uffizi, Florence;³ and the Poynter collection (now in the Philadelphia Museum of Art)⁴ – that he believed might be connected with the apostles on the tombs of Leo X and Clement VII in Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome, which were commissioned from Bandinelli in 1536. Popham pointed out that the Lehman drawing and other similar studies (or perhaps replicas of them) were etched in reverse by Jan de Bisschop, as by Bandinelli, for his *Paradigmata graphices*, published in The Hague in 1671 (Fig. 93.1).⁵



No. 93



Fig. 93.1 Jan de Bisschop, after Baccio Bandinelli, *Prophets or Apostles*



Fig. 93.2 Giovanni Bandini, *Apostle*. Museo Horne, Florence. Photograph: Ulrich Middeldorf in *Art Quarterly* (Detroit) 2 (1939), fig. 7

To Popham's list we can add six drawings of apostles that are similar in size, technique, and style: in the Uffizi;⁶ the Museo Horne, Florence (Fig. 93.2);⁷ the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts;⁸ the Musée Condé, Chantilly;⁹ the Witt Collection, Courtauld Institute Galleries, London;¹⁰ and the Cleveland Museum of Art.¹¹ Another sheet in the Witt Collection that depicts a standing apostle with a book, but in a more active pose and with a less hieratic face, might also be added to the group.¹²

All these sheets have been traditionally attributed to Bandinelli, but on close examination it becomes obvious that they bear only a superficial resemblance to Bandinelli's pen drawings. They do, however, as Middeldorf recognized some fifty years ago, bring to mind the sculptor Giovanni Bandini, Bandinelli's pupil.¹³ In a 1939 article that was the first attempt to define Bandini's personality as a draftsman, Middeldorf asserted that the *Study*

of *Four Statues* in the Biblioteca Reale, Turin (Fig. 93.3),¹⁴ which had also until then been classed as Bandinelli's, "very consistently shows Giovanni Bandini's more classic taste, his preference for simple movements and outlines. . . . Bandinelli's complicated system of hatchings is translated into greater simplicity and clarity. There are fewer curves, and the lines are longer and more continuous. The hatchings cover larger areas and form very even and well defined patches of shadow. All this corresponds to Giovanni Bandini's quiet and reserved marble technique."¹⁵

Middeldorf considered the Turin drawing to be a preliminary study by Bandini for the reliefs on the choir screen in Florence Cathedral (Fig. 93.4) and thought it might date to soon after Bandinelli's death in 1560, when Bandini took on responsibility for completing the reliefs. He went on to claim for Bandini two of the drawings in the group to which our sheet belongs: the study of a



Fig. 93.3 Giovanni Bandini, *Study of Four Statues*. Biblioteca Reale, Turin. Photograph: Ulrich Middeldorf in *Art Quarterly* (Detroit) 2 (1939), fig. 1

standing apostle in the Fogg Art Museum, the style of which he called “the organic continuation and development of that of the sheet in Turin,” and the sketch in the Museo Horne in Florence of an apostle standing in a niche (Fig. 93.2). His argument that the Fogg drawing can be connected with the large statue of Saint James Minor that Bandini executed between 1573 and 1576 for one of the piers in the cathedral is particularly convincing.¹⁶

Middeldorf included four other drawings from our group – the two in the Uffizi and those in Chantilly and London – in a list of sheets he categorized as “possibly by Giovanni Bandini.”¹⁷ He noted that the London and Chantilly sheets might also be connected with the statues for the cathedral in Florence. In the catalogue of the exhibition of Bandinelli drawings held at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, in 1988, Ward confirmed Middeldorf’s attribution of this group of drawings to Bandini and again suggested that they are related to the reliefs on the choir screen in the cathedral.¹⁸

It is possible that this entire group of studies might be related to the ideas Bandini realized while he was working for the Opera del Duomo. Our drawing does not seem to refer to a particular work, either by Bandini himself or by another sculptor.¹⁹ But just as the often-cited Horne drawing echoes Donatello’s *Zuccone* of the cathedral campanile in Florence, our sheet seems to be distantly related to the *Saint Peter* at Orsanmichele. That Bandini, like many of his Florentine contemporaries, should have been interested in the art of the past is not inconceivable. Such an interest would accord with the

style of our group of sheets, which seem to hark back to the drawings of Bandinelli’s youth that were closer to Rosso Fiorentino in their subtle, schematic rendering of light and shadow. Our apostle, particularly the treatment of the eyes and mouth, is more reminiscent of Rosso’s figures than are any of the others in the series. Indeed, one wonders if the famous *Two Old Men Disputing* in the Uffizi that is now attributed to Rosso should not also be added to Bandini’s oeuvre.²⁰ If that drawing is by Bandini, it would certainly be the sculptor’s most vivid and pronounced Mannerist essay.

NOTES:

1. Szabo adopted the attribution to Bandinelli in 1983. He also said that this drawing was once in the Zoomer collection in Amsterdam, but there is no evidence to support that claim (see also No. 92, note 1).
2. Photograph Braun 75002.
3. Uffizi, 505F; Middeldorf 1939, p. 393, fig. 9.
4. Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1954.73.21; Poynter sale 1918, lot 5 (as Bandinelli). For a discussion of the Lehman drawing and the others in the series, see Forlani Tempesti 1989–90, which was published after this text was completed.
5. Bisschop 1671, pls. 33, 34 in some copies, pls. 34, 35 in the unbound copy in the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, Rome (FC.91682, vol. 50K15).
6. Uffizi, 707E (with a sketch of a standing male nude on the verso); Middeldorf 1939, p. 393; Petrioli Tofani 1986–87, p. 309, ill.
7. Museo Horne, 5744; Middeldorf 1939, fig. 7 (note that the captions for figs. 5 and 7 are transposed); Florence 1963, no. 11.



Fig. 93.4 Giovanni Bandini, *Figures on the Choir Screen*. Florence Cathedral. Photograph: Ulrich Middeldorf in *Art Quarterly* (Detroit) 2 (1939), fig. 2

8. Fogg Art Museum, 1932.156; Middeldorf 1939, fig. 3; Mongan and Sachs 1940, no. 54 (as Bandini); Cambridge 1988, fig. 35, under no. 45 (as Bandini).
9. Musée Condé, 14FR.II.10; Middeldorf 1939, p. 393; photograph Giraudon 7888. The corners of this sheet have also been cut off, and it is laid down on an old mount much like those on our Nos. 92 and 93. Ward (in Cambridge 1988, under no. 45) has noted that this drawing was once owned by W. Y. Ottley, who was a friend of Skippe's, and that on its verso is a long annotation in Ottley's hand attributing it to Donatello.
10. Witt Collection, Courtauld Institute Galleries, 2726; Middeldorf 1939, p. 393; Manchester 1965, no. 252; Cambridge 1988, no. 45, ill. p. 130. This drawing was also etched in reverse by Bisschop (1671) on the same plate as ours (see Fig. 93.1, top left).
11. Cleveland Museum of Art, 83-91; Middeldorf 1939, p. 393; sale, Christie's, London, December 9, 1982, lot 15, ill. Ottley included this drawing, which depicts two figures, in his *Italian School of Design* (1823, pl. following p. 12), accompanied by the comment "The Specimen before us is executed with a bold reed pen, much resembling that observed in some of the finest sketches of Baccio Bandinelli. In other respects it differs from them most essentially . . . These figures, with some others by Donatello of the same kind, were formerly etched upon a small scale by Biscop [*sic*], who committed the usual error of attributing them to Bandinelli."
12. Witt Collection, Courtauld Institute Galleries, 1742; Forlani Tempesti 1989-90, p. 66, fig. 11.
13. On Bandini, see also Marcucci 1963 and Florence 1980b, p. 71.
14. Biblioteca Reale, 15620; Middeldorf 1939, fig. 1; Bertini 1958, no. 51 (as Bandini).
15. Middeldorf 1939, p. 391.
16. *Ibid.*, fig. 4. Although the correspondence is a little less precise from an iconographical point of view, there is also much to be said for the relationship Middeldorf discerned between the Museo Horne drawing and the other large statue, of Saint Philip, that Bandini finished for the cathedral in 1577.
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 392-93. Middeldorf also listed a number of other drawings, including several more in the Uffizi, one of which (Uffizi 10675; *ibid.*, fig. 8) is a copy of a drawing by Bandini once at Chatsworth but now in a private collection in Paris (Washington, D.C. 1969, no. 13, ill. [as Bandinelli]; sale, Christie's, London, July 6, 1987, lot 1). The ex-Chatsworth drawing, which depicts a standing youth in contemporary clothing, was also etched in reverse by Bisschop (1671, pl. 38 [as Bandinelli]). There is another replica of the drawing in the Willumsens Museum, Frederikssund (GS433; Frederikssund 1984, no. 55, ill. [as workshop of Bandinelli]). Although it has been considered related to Bandinelli's *modello* of Jason in the Bargello, Florence, this figure's pose is really a variant of that of Michelangelo's *David*. See also the three copies of Michelangelo's statue on both sides of the sheet in the Museo di Capodimonte, Naples (47; Muzii 1987, no. 6, ill.), that is attributed to Bandinelli.
18. Ward in Cambridge 1988, no. 45. Ward mentioned all these drawings of apostles except the ones in Italy, and he added one in the Louvre, Paris (146; Forlani Tempesti 1989-90, p. 16, fig. 12, n. 13). The Louvre drawing, however, looks more like a copy than an original by Bandini. Although the group of drawings Middeldorf assembled is convincingly homogeneous, the reconstruction with the attribution to Bandini has been accepted by few other scholars. Mongan and Sachs, Bertini, and Sinibaldi accepted Bandini's authorship for specific drawings. In 1940 Mongan and Sachs considered the Fogg drawing a work of Bandini's, and in 1958 Bertini did the same for the Turin sheet (see notes 8 and 14 above). In 1972 Monbeig Goguel credited Bandini with two sheets in the Louvre, the *Study of a Man Sitting on a Stool* that Middeldorf (1939, p. 392) had listed as "possibly by Bandini" and *Two Studies of a Female Nude* (Louvre 1151, 75; Monbeig Goguel 1972, nos. 5, 6, ill.). And Sinibaldi has enriched the group with sheets in the Uffizi that she has attributed to Bandini, but her opinions have not been published.
19. It may be significant that a number of drawings in the apostle series, including ours, were attributed to Donatello in the eighteenth century (see also note 11 above). According to Popham, the handwriting on the mount of our drawing, now damaged, is John Skippe's (see also No. 92, note 1).
20. Uffizi, 6985F; Barocchi 1950, pp. 194-95, fig. 162 (as Rosso Fiorentino); Carroll (1968) 1976, no. F24, fig. 173 (as Bandinelli).

PROVENANCE: John Skippe, the Upper Hall, Ledbury, England (see Lugt 1529a-b); his sister, Penelope Skippe, married in 1774 to James Martin, Overbury Court, Worcestershire; James Martin's son, Old Colwall, Malvern; by descent through his mother to Edward Holland; his sister, Mrs. A. C. Rayner-Wood; his nephew, Edward Holland-Martin; Skippe sale 1958, lot 10A. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1958.

EXHIBITED: New York 1979, no. 17, ill.

LITERATURE: Szabo 1983, no. 35, ill.; Cambridge 1988, under no. 45.

Central Italy

Mid-sixteenth century

94. Studies of the Leg of a Man and a Horse's Head

1975.1.377

Pen and brown ink (the horse's head in a different pen and brown ink), brush and wash in two shades of brown. Pen trials with the same ink as the legs. 330 x 245 mm. Uneven edges; various stains. Annotated along the right margin in pen and a different brown ink in a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century hand: *Dip. dgi 2 Ducatoni / 2 filippi / 9 / p[er] due jancon à Giulian / p[er] tutta due doppie 20 / a Morgante 2 dobloni*, followed by a list of numbers.

Verso: Sketches of the back of a man's left shoulder, in red chalk, and a chained(?) figure, in pencil. Annotated at the left in pen and blue ink: 93.

Anatomical drawings are often difficult to attribute unless one can assemble a group of examples by the same hand whose various clues might point to a particular name, and that is unfortunately not the case here.

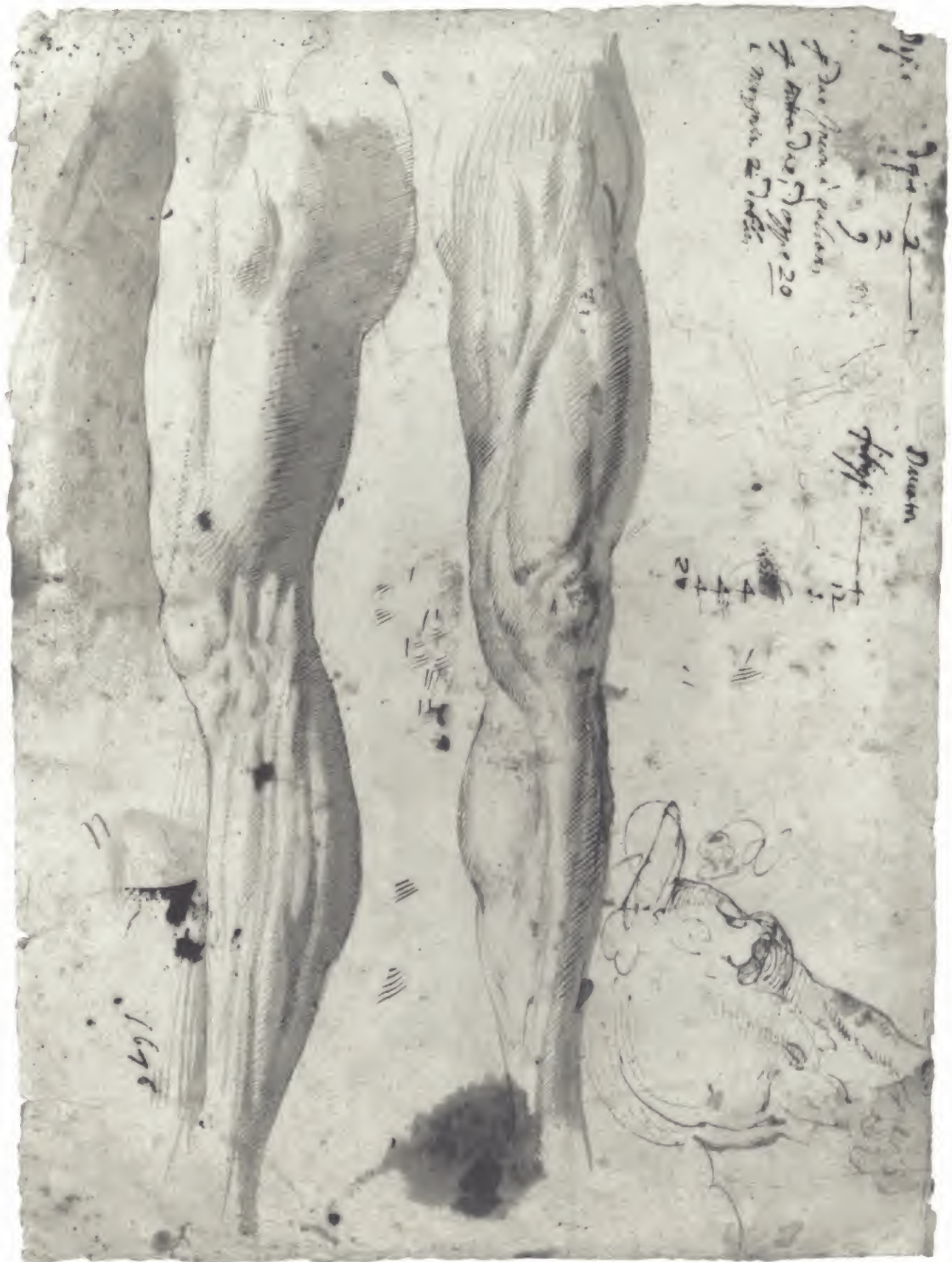
This way of studying a male leg both in profile and from the front, and sometimes also from behind, is a *topos* in sixteenth-century drawings.¹ Most such studies are of Tuscan or Roman origin, but the practice was also followed by artists of other schools, among them the Milanese Ambrogio Figino² and the Venetian Battista Franco (see No. 38),³ as well as Gerolamo da Carpi, who like the author of our sheet fused Mannerist elements with references to the antique.⁴ The more or less direct prototypes for such drawings are the anatomical studies by Leonardo and Michelangelo. Michelangelo's multifarious followers and imitators, in particular, produced many similarly composed drawings that date roughly to the mid-1500s.⁵

Although none of the comparisons stand up to close examination, our sheet does have some affinity with drawings by Tuscan artists. Some similar sheets, for example, have been attributed to the so-called Clemente Bandinelli, Baccio's son. One of them, a sheet of anatomical studies in the Uffizi, Florence, has on its verso a pen drawing of a horse's head after the antique that is rather like the one at the bottom of our sheet, but in a much more vigorous style.⁶ Another, also in the Uffizi and very typical of the group, is a study of legs disposed on the page much as in our drawing, but rendered in thick red chalk for a much more luminous effect.⁷ In a drawing in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, one of a group of sheets that have been attributed to Raffaele da Montelupo, anatomical studies are intermingled with figures with classical ech-

oes, all rendered in a fine, curving line like that used in parts of our drawing.⁸ Yet our sketches lack the robust, scratchy quality of the drawings of a sculptor like Montelupo. And they also lack the linear emphasis typical of drawings by the Bolognese Bartolommeo Passarotti, who has been suggested as a possible author for this sheet, though the *Studies of Hands and of Nude Figures* in the Ashmolean that has been ascribed to him does in some ways relate to our drawing.⁹

The Lehman sheet can also be compared, in a general way, with studies by artists from various parts of Italy who worked in Rome. The influence of both Parmigianino and Perino del Vaga can be seen in the *Anatomical Study of Two Legs* in the National Gallery, Edinburgh,¹⁰ and in the *Studies of Legs, a Bearded Head, and a Horse's Head* in the Art Museum, Princeton University, the composition of which also resembles that of our sheet.¹¹ But the anonymous authors of those sheets of studies drew with a freer and more brilliant hand than the artist who produced our sketches, who was obviously well trained but whose inexperience as a draftsman shows in the slender outlines and hatching and the rather delicate use of wash. Our drawing can also be related, more distantly, to the work of Polidoro da Caravaggio and artists associated with him (see Nos. 96, 97), for example the sheet of studies in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, which Pouncey and others have attributed to Polidoro himself;¹² the *Study of Legs* in the Kunstbibliothek, Berlin;¹³ and the *Studies of Horses' Heads* in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Besançon.¹⁴ A further comparison can be made with the *Studies of Legs* in the Lambert Krahe collection, Düsseldorf, which an old annotation attributes to Perino del Vaga.¹⁵

Our drawing also has a certain *sfumato* grace that is Sienese in character and vaguely reminiscent of Beccafumi (see No. 87). Although this further complicates the problem of assigning the sheet to a particular artist, it does allow us to date it to about the second quarter of the sixteenth century, when artists who had left Rome after the sack of the city in 1527 were spreading a complex Mannerist language throughout Italy.¹⁶ That this drawing is a product of the artistic ambience in Rome at that time is not contradicted by the summary sketch of a figure on the verso; the shoulder study may be of a later date.



No. 94, recto



No. 94, verso

NOTES:

1. For the history of anatomical themes in mid-sixteenth-century drawings, see Florence 1984a.
2. See, for example, the anatomical studies in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana (cod. F245; Milan 1971, nos. 62–80).
3. Among the sheets by Battista Franco in the British Museum, see in particular *Tarquin Attacking Lucretia* (5236.117; Gere and Pouncey 1983, no. 116, pls. 127, 134). Also pertinent is the sheet of sketches for a Deposition in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan (cod. 245, inf. 31; Venice 1979, no. 25), in which nudes treated similarly to those in our drawing appear in a narrative context. Although the drawing technique is more vigorous, a few of the anatomical studies attributed to Prospero Bresciano are analogous to ours; see, for instance, the *Studies of a Standing Figure and Two Arms* and *Studies of Legs and a Figure Facing Right* (recto and verso) in the Uffizi, Florence (9031S, 11908F; Florence 1984a, nos. 13, 14, figs. 15–17).
4. For Gerolamo da Carpi and his circle, besides various drawings after the antique in the British Museum sketchbook (Gere and Pouncey 1983, nos. 159–85, pls. 150–78), see the *Prophet* (recto) and *Nudes* (verso), *Antique Statues* (recto) and *Nude and Figures* (verso), *Nude from the Antique* (recto) and *Figures* (verso), and *Nude Studies from the Antique* (recto and verso) in the Uffizi (1700E, 1708E, 1969F, 1971F; photographs S.B.A.S. 103306, 103308, 158937, 158938), which have annotations not unlike those on our sheet.
5. Two examples from the Michelangelo circle are the *Two Studies of Male Legs* in the Casa Buonarroti, Florence (25F; Barocchi 1962, no. 230, pl. 333 [as anonymous sixteenth-century artist]), and the “*Ecorchés*” of a Male Leg in the Royal Library, Windsor Castle (0803; Popham and Wilde [1949] 1984, no. 441, fig. 97 [as school of Michelangelo]).
6. Uffizi, 522F; Florence 1984a, no. 4, figs. 5, 6 (as workshop

of Baccio Bandinelli). This drawing has traditionally been attributed to Clemente.

7. Uffizi 7051F; *ibid.*, no. 20, figs. 24, 25.
8. Parker 1956, no. 405. See also the versos of two copies after Michelangelo in the Ashmolean (*ibid.*, nos. 407, 410; Berenson 1961, nos. 1720, 1716).
9. Parker 1956, no. 452; Berenson 1961, no. 1699, fig. 768. Passarotti's name was proposed and this drawing mentioned in an undated, unsigned handwritten note in the Robert Lehman Collection files. Szabo took note of that proposal, and of Berenson's earlier tentative attribution of the drawing to a follower of Michelangelo, in the catalogue of the 1979 exhibition in New York.
10. National Gallery, 646; Andrews 1968, p. 88, fig. 615 (as Parmigianino). Andrews compared the Edinburgh sheet with the drawing in the Casa Buonarroti, Florence (see note 5 above).
11. Art Museum, Princeton University, 47-179; Gibbons 1977, no. 694, ill. Aliberti Gaudioso and Gaudioso (Rome 1981-82, no. 127) have attributed this sheet to the still mythical Zaga, an assistant to Perino del Vaga whom they have connected with the frescoes in the Sala di Apollo in the Castel Sant'Angelo in Rome.
12. Victoria and Albert Museum, CA1.377 (recto and verso); Marabottini 1969, nos. 182, 183, pl. 120; Ward-Jackson 1979-80, no. 63, ill. (in both as Polidoro da Caravaggio).
13. Sammlung der Bibliothek des Kunstgewerbemuseums, Kunstbibliothek, K.d.Z.26470; Ravelli 1978, no. 249, ill.
14. Musée des Beaux-Arts, D1440; *ibid.*, no. 108, ill.
15. Lambert Krahe collection, FP7384; Düsseldorf 1969-70, no. 13, fig. 15. It bears an annotation in Giuseppe Ghezzi's hand.
16. The writing on the recto of our sheet might provide a clue to the regions to which the Mannerist style was exported after the Sack of Rome, particularly by artists of Polidoro's circle. *Doppie* and *dobloni* refer to Spanish coins and so might indicate a place of origin such as Naples, if not Sicily. The annotations are written in different ink from that used for the drawing, however, and the writing seems to be in a later hand. If that is so, and that it is appears likely, this would suggest only that the drawing was once owned by someone who lived in or near Naples (and who valued the drawing so little that he scribbled his accounts on it).

PROVENANCE: Not established.

EXHIBITED: New York 1979, no. 50A, B, ill.

Perino del Vaga

(Pietro Buonaccorsi)

Florence 1501-Rome 1547

Perino's period of training in Ridolfo Ghirlandaio's Florentine workshop was brief but fundamental. About 1516, still a mere youth and with a personality that was both restless and enterprising, he took himself to Rome in the company of one Vaga, a painter whose name he adopted. There he rounded out his artistic education in the circle of Raphael. With Giovanni da Udine he worked on the decoration of the Vatican Loggie and the vault of the Sala dei Pontefici, and on his own he decorated the Palazzo Baldassini. On a brief visit to Florence in 1522-23 he became friendly with Rosso and with Gian Giacomo Caraglio, who over the next several years created a business from engraving Perino's inventions.

After the Sack of Rome in 1527 Perino moved to Genoa and entered the service of Andrea Doria. The frescoes he created for the Palazzo Doria, laudatory narratives enhanced by *stucchi all'antica* and fanciful ornamental motifs, became the model for a new kind of decoration for patrician dwellings. He also executed various commissions for churches in and around Genoa before returning to Rome about 1539. Among the projects he undertook at the request of Pope Paul III was the ceiling of the Sala Regia in the Vatican. From about 1545 until he died in 1547 he worked on the elaborate and opulent decoration of the Castel Sant'Angelo, which was later much imitated not only in Rome but throughout Italy.

The study of Perino's graphic production has long centered on his many preparatory studies for paintings. His designs for objects and ornaments, the so-called minor or applied arts, have only recently begun to be properly appreciated and singled out from among the great number of similar drawings created by his pupils and imitators.

Circle of Perino del Vaga

95. Battle of Horsemen and Foot Soldiers

1975.I.546

Pen and dark and light brown ink. 207 x 315 mm. Laid down. Torn along the edges at the left, upper right, and lower left.

Its unique style and extreme complexity may explain why this drawing has remained in relative obscurity since it first appeared, under the heading "anonymous, Italian



No. 95

School," in the Oppenheimer sale in 1936 (in the same lot as No. 41, which has no relation to this drawing). The intricate, highly linear penwork may have been what prompted Szabo to exhibit the sheet in 1979 with a cautious "attributed to Paolo Veronese." (Veronese's name is also written on a photograph of the drawing in the Berenson library at the Harvard Center for Renaissance Studies at Villa I Tatti, Florence.) But this entwined, finespun line punctuated by small sporadic clots of ink is unlike anything produced by Paolo or other Veronese artists such as Felice Brusasorci or Alvise dal Friso.¹ The purely decorative clustering of the figures on a single plane, their gestures echoing one another in continuous point and counterpoint and transforming a dramatic battle scene into a sort of dance, unquestionably links this drawing instead to the cultural ambient of Tuscany and Rome in the middle of the sixteenth century.

These knots of battling men and horses recall classical bas-reliefs as they were interpreted by the artists in the circle of Raphael. Indeed, the principal iconographic inspiration for this scene seems to have been the *Battle of Constantine* in the Vatican Stanze. A certain severity in the analytic rendering of the musculature of these figures also brings to mind drawings by artists like Raffaele da Montelupo who were associated with Michelangelo. The tangled threads of the outlines recall to some extent Battista Franco (see No. 38), a Venetian who was affiliated with Montelupo and the school of Michelangelo at an early age and who worked in Rome and Florence as well as Urbino in a style by no means remote from that of Raphael's epigones.²

Yet this sheet shows a much more obvious resemblance to the drawings of Perino del Vaga. One could point, for example, to the way certain minute details are defined

and to the way the ink has clotted where the pen seems to have stuck in Perino's sketch in the Uffizi, Florence, for a *Saint George*³ and in his *Battle of Centaurs and Lapiths* and *Figure Studies* in the British Museum, London.⁴ But those characteristics are also found in drawings of the Lombard sculptor Guglielmo della Porta, who worked with Perino in Genoa as well as Rome, particularly those in the sketchbook in Düsseldorf and those of mythological themes that have been assembled by Gramberg.⁵ Also probably from the Genoese area are two drawings in the Uffizi of battle scenes that could almost have been done by the same hand as ours.⁶ The style and composition of two other battle scenes, one in the Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden, the other in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon, both traditionally attributed to Polidoro da Caravaggio but strongly influenced by Perino, are similar in many ways to those of our drawing, though with a more generous and animated use of wash in a more friezelike format.⁷

For the present, at any rate, we can therefore be no more specific than to say that this drawing was made by an artist in the circle of Perino del Vaga (a conclusion supported by Davidson's expert opinion),⁸ whose influence spread from Rome to Genoa, and that it probably dates to the mid-1500s.

NOTES:

1. See, for example, the study for a wall decoration by Brusasorci in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Parker 1956, no. 230; Venice-Verona 1971, no. 102, ill.), and the sheet of studies

by Alvise dal Friso in the Terence Mullaly collection, London (Venice-Verona 1971, no. 119, ill.).

2. Certain of Battista Franco's drawings seem particularly close to ours. The *Studies for Tarquin and Lucretia* (datable to 1536-41, when Franco was in Florence), *Woman Dancing*, *Woman Standing*, and *Seated Sibyl* in the British Museum, London (5236.117, 1854.6.28.90, 1854.6.28.91, 1854.6.28.98; Gere and Pouncey 1983, nos. 116, 126-28, ill.) — all have rather fragmented linework similar to that in our drawing. See also the double sheet of figure studies in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (KK16866; photograph Gernsheim 20321, 20322), and the drawing of a male allegorical figure and the majolica designs in the Kunstbibliothek, Berlin (4182, 3415, 3416; Jacob 1975, nos. 80-82, ill.).
3. Uffizi, 559E; Florence 1966a, no. 23, fig. 22; Petrioli Tofani 1986-87, p. 250.
4. British Museum, Ff.1-62m, 1946.7.13.564; Pouncey and Gere 1962, nos. 170, 176.
5. For the sketchbook, see Gramberg 1964; for the mythological drawings, see Gramberg 1968.
6. Uffizi, 14563F (photograph S.B.A.S. 159118), 14862F. Both drawings were formerly ascribed to "Francesco Fattore," but according to handwritten notes in the Uffizi files they have also been attributed to an "anonymous Genoese" by Pouncey, to a "Seminiolesco" by Davidson, and to a "Polidoresco" by Oberhuber.
7. Kupferstichkabinett, C.1937.395, and Musée des Beaux-Arts, His de la Salle 1883.779; Ravelli 1978, nos. 362, 363, ill.
8. Oral communication, 1985.

PROVENANCE: H. M. (Lugt 1343); Henry Oppenheimer, London; Oppenheimer sale 1936, lot 36b. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1936.

EXHIBITED: Poughkeepsie 1942-44; New York 1979, no. 48, ill.

Polidoro da Caravaggio

(Polidoro Caldara)

Caravaggio (Bergamo) ca. 1500–Messina 1546

As a young man Polidoro served as an assistant on projects such as Raphael's Loggia in the Vatican. He later specialized in small frescoes framed by stucco decoration like those in the Chapel of Fra Mariano in San Silvestro al Quirinale in Rome, which depict stories of the Magdalene set in broad, idealized landscapes. He is equally well known for the large ornamental *graffiti* that he and, according to Vasari, his associate Maturino da Firenze painted on the facades of many Roman palaces, though very little has survived of those elaborate historical and biblical scenes teeming with figures and decorative motifs derived from the reliefs on ancient arches, columns, and sarcophagi. Polidoro's own hand can be readily identified in both his rapid pen sketches and his singular and pronouncedly Mannerist studies in red chalk. Most of the many drawings that exist for his renowned facade decorations, however, have proved to be either by his pupils or by the numerous imitators who continued to produce copies and engravings of his works even after the turn of the century. When Rome was sacked in 1527 Polidoro moved to Naples. By the early 1530s he was in Sicily, where he introduced Tuscan-Roman Mannerism to the court at Messina.

After Polidoro da Caravaggio

96. Frieze with Male Figures and Two Horses

1975.I.407

Pen and brown ink, brown wash. 197 x 381 mm. Laid down on an old mount with gilded framing. Right corners made up; vertical fold through the middle; various horizontal creases and tears.

In the past both this drawing and No. 97 have been attributed to Polidoro da Caravaggio.¹ By now we have enough examples of Polidoro's highly gifted draftsman-ship to rule out the possibility of either of these being autograph drawings, but they are nonetheless of considerable interest because they provide additional documentation, unremarked until now, of one of the many celebrated friezes *all'antica* that Polidoro and Maturino painted on Roman house facades.

This same scene is depicted in a drawing in the Louvre (Fig. 96.2).² Kultzen noted that the central group of sol-

diers in the Louvre drawing (and therefore also in ours) appears in reverse at the left in *Tarquinius and Attus*, an engraving dated 1545 and captioned *POLLIDOR INVENTOR* that is probably by Nicolas Béatrizet (Fig. 96.4).³ The man lifting his right arm at the far left in the drawings is the emperor Tarquinius, who appears in the engraving in the act of slicing with a razor the whetstone the augur Attus and a companion present to him. Our drawing and the one in the Louvre extend the subject as it was known (in reverse) from Béatrizet's print. The subject is extended farther in the other direction, as Kultzen pointed out, in a drawing in the Albertina, Vienna (Fig. 96.3), that also only partially overlaps the Béatrizet print.⁴ No. 97 allows us to reconstruct more of the right-hand portion of the frieze (see Fig. 96.1).

Kultzen also suggested that the entire frieze was painted on the facade of the Casa Boniauguri, which was on the Piazza Santa Chiara near Santa Maria sopra Minerva, because the subject of Tarquinius and Attus was so appropriate for a house with that name.⁵ The facade, according to Vasari, was decorated with "some beautiful stories of Romulus,"⁶ one of which, *Romulus Laying Out the Boundaries of Rome*, is known from an engraving of 1553 by Michele Greco after Polidoro.⁷

The central group in the drawings (along with the rearing horse to the right and the soldier holding him) was also engraved by the sixteenth-century monogrammist known as the Master I ♀ V.⁸ The group with Attus kneeling before Tarquinius also figures in a drawing, in a much more linear style, in the Louvre⁹ – to the right of a procession of figures and cattle (also engraved by Michele Greco)¹⁰ that formed a section of the frieze to the left. Yet another drawing in the Louvre (Fig. 96.5) that repeats in summary fashion the figures in No. 96 seems to suggest that the frieze may have been arranged in two horizontal bands.¹¹

No. 96 and the Louvre drawing of the same scene (Fig. 96.2), as well as No. 97, share several details, notably the shield, the braided tails of the horses, and the fluttering garment of the man on the right. All three were therefore most likely copied directly from the *graffito* on the facade of the Casa Boniauguri, rather than from preparatory drawings or copies of them, which would have resulted in more differences in details, or from engravings, which would be in the opposite direction.



No. 96

Although by a skillful hand, No. 96 has all the stiffness of a copy, and its style dates it a good deal later than the 1520s, when Polidoro was decorating facades in Rome. It was probably made in the first half of the sixteenth century, however; the tangled line in certain areas of the drawing, for example in the horses' muzzles, recalls Polidoro's contemporary Perino del Vaga, and the way some of the heads are merely outlined but then modeled with wash brings to mind Giulio Romano. The artist who copied the frieze in his own eclectic manner may have been any one of the many painters who flocked to Rome about mid-century to study its monuments, both ancient and contemporary – and especially, as Vasari attested, the facade paintings of Polidoro and Maturino.¹²

See also No. 97.

NOTES:

1. Szabo ascribed both drawings to Polidoro in the catalogue of the exhibition in New York in 1979. He had used the same attribution for No. 96 in the catalogue of the 1977 Tokyo exhibition. No. 96 is also illustrated in his 1983 volume as by Polidoro, but accompanied by text that refers to No. 97.

2. Louvre, 6208 (pen and ink, 170 x 388 mm); Kultzen 1977, p. 350, fig. 333; Ravelli 1978, no. 390, ill.
3. Passavant 1860–64, vol. 6, p. 121, no. 119; Marabottini 1969, p. 370, pl. 155,2; Kultzen 1977, p. 350, fig. 331.
4. Albertina, 17271; Marabottini 1969, p. 370, pl. 155,4; Ravelli 1978, no. 388, ill.
5. See Kultzen 1961 and 1977. Marabottini (1969, p. 370, no. 18) had already considered the *Tarquinius and Attus* frieze a good candidate for the Casa Boniauguri facade. As Livy (1:36) relates the story, the Romans, threatened by the attacking Sabines, pressed Emperor Tarquinius to consult the auspices before doubling the cavalry. Tarquinius, having no faith in divine portents, devised a test. He told the augur Attus to ask the auspices whether he (Attus) could perform an act Tarquinius was thinking about. When the auspices said yes, Tarquinius disclosed that he had been thinking about cutting a whetstone with a razor. Whereupon Attus did just that. The artist has Tarquinius wielding the razor and Attus kneeling and holding the whetstone (unless Attus is the bearded man standing behind the emperor).
6. Vasari (1568) 1878–85, vol. 5, p. 145: “Nella faccia de’ Buoni Augùrj vicino alla Minerva, sono alcune storie di Romolo bellissime, cioè quando egli con l’aratro disegna il luogo per la città, e quando gli avvoltoj gli volano sopra; dove imitando gli abiti, le cere e le persone antiche, pare veramente che gli uomini siano quell’istessi.”



No. 97

7. Passavant 1860–64, vol. 6, p. 168, no. 13; Marabottini 1969, p. 355, no. 7, pl. 129, 1; Kultzen 1977, fig. 330. The engraving is signed M. L. (see note 10 below) and dated 1553. Four drawings of the same subject exist, two in the Louvre (6206, 6207), one at Christ Church, Oxford (1584), and one in a private collection; see Ravelli 1978, nos. 381–84, ill.
8. Bartsch xvi.371.1; Kultzen 1977, p. 350, fig. 334; Zerner 1979b, p. 271.
9. Louvre, 6222; Ravelli 1978, no. 389, ill. (as Battista Franco). The drawing is very damaged.
10. Nagler n.d., vol. 4, p. 625, no. 19; Ravelli 1978, fig. 388a. For Michele Greco (or Grecchi or Crecchi, also called Lucchese or Lucchesino), see also Ragghianti Collobi 1975.
11. Louvre, 35780 (recto); Ravelli 1978, no. 385, ill. Ravelli did not mention the correspondence between this drawing and Louvre 6208 (see note 2 above). The style of Louvre 35780 is not unlike that of the drawings in the so-called Polidoro album in the Lugt collection, Fondation Custodia, Paris, which are copies, probably made in the late sixteenth century, of Polidoro and Maturino's facade paintings in Rome (see Byam Shaw 1983, vol. 2).
12. The style of our drawing is somewhat analogous to that of other copies after Polidoro. See, for example, *Romulus Laying Out the Boundaries of Rome* in the Louvre (6207; see note 7 above), also after the Casa Boniauguri facade;

Barbarians in Flight, also in the Louvre (6198; Ravelli 1978, no. 495, ill.); and the *Boar Hunt* and *Gathering of the Manna* in the Uffizi, Florence (13390F, 13382F; *ibid.*, nos. 346, 341, ill.).

PROVENANCE: Prosper Henry Lankrink, London (Lugt 2090); the earls of Pembroke; by descent to Reginald Herbert, fifteenth earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, Wilton House, Salisbury (see Lugt Suppl. 2636b); Pembroke and Montgomery sale 1917, lot 458; R. G. Mathews, London (Lugt 2213); sale, Sotheby's, London, April 27, 1927, lot 38.

EXHIBITED: Northampton (Mass.) 1942–44; Tokyo 1977, no. 5, ill.; New York 1979, no. 13, ill.

LITERATURE: Szabo 1983, no. 33, ill.



Fig. 96.1 Reconstruction of frieze (from left to right: Albertina drawing [Fig. 96.3, detail], Béatrizet[?] engraving [Fig. 96.4, detail, reversed], No. 96 [detail], No. 97 [detail])



Fig. 96.2 After Polidoro da Caravaggio, *Tarquinius and Attus*. Musée du Louvre, Paris.
Photograph: Réunion des Musées Nationaux



Fig. 96.3 After Polidoro da Caravaggio, *Tarquinius and Attus*. Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna



After Polidoro da Caravaggio

97. Frieze with Three Horsemen

1975.I.406

Pen and brown ink, brush and brown and gray wash. 174 x 271 mm. Fully laid down on an old mount with gilded framing. Annotated in pen at the lower right in block letters, probably over an earlier inscription: *POLIDORUS E.*

The subject of this drawing and its relationship to Polidoro's frieze on the facade of the Casa Boniauguri in Rome are discussed under No. 96. The great significance of this drawing is that it extends our knowledge of Polidoro's frieze toward the right by one more horse and rider and a tentlike structure, elements that appear in none of the other copies.

The small dome (probably the top of a tent) glimpsed between the two horses at the left and the pyramidal edifice to the right (perhaps another, less elaborate tent), which could have served as a geometric decorative element like those that bracket the compositions of so many of Polidoro's friezes, are further evidence that this drawing derives directly from his original painting. That the copyist would have added these details seems less likely than that he was merely faithfully recording what he saw.

Like No. 96, this is but one of many diverse and unattributable copies after Polidoro. Certain stylistic formulas, such as the clear, compact outlines, may bring to mind the products of the Giulio Romano workshop, but others seem to have a different background. For example, the streaming hair and schematized profiles of the groom and the horseman at the right echo Rosso and the engravings derived from his works, whereas the quick, light wash treatment on the rider in the center recalls the approach of Parmigianino and his Parmese followers. These details differentiate this drawing from No. 96, and they also show in how many diverse styles the same subject could be interpreted. This drawing does not appear to correspond with any other known copies after Polidoro. We might suggest only that it could have been made in about the 1530s by a not particularly gifted artist who had firsthand knowledge not merely of the Raphael-Polidoro tradition but also of Emilian Mannerism.

PROVENANCE: Graf Moriz von Fries, Vienna (Lugt 2903); [E. Parsons and Sons, London]. Acquired by Robert Lehman through Parsons and Sons on September 11, 1929.

EXHIBITED: Poughkeepsie 1942–44; New York 1979, no. 14, ill.



Fig. 96.4 Nicolas Béatrizet(?), *Tarquinius and Attus*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam



Fig. 96.5 After Polidoro da Caravaggio, *Design for a Frieze*. Musée du Louvre, Paris. Photograph: Réunion des Musées Nationaux

Luzio Romano

(Luzio da Todi)

Documented 1519–1582

Luzio Romano, primarily a specialist in *grotesche* and *stucchi*, remains somewhat of a mystery. Vasari mentioned him as one of the *garzoni* who assisted Perino del Vaga in the Palazzo Doria in Genoa about 1528–33. He also worked with Perino and, according to Vasari, three other painters on the apartments of Pope Paul III in the Castel Sant'Angelo in Rome, but he may have received that commission on his own, as the accounts for the decoration record payments directly to him, rather than through Perino, between 1543 and 1548. Beginning in 1563 Luzio collaborated with Daniele da Volterra on the ceiling of San Giovanni in Laterano, and there are records of payments to him in 1565 and 1573 for paintings and stuccoes in the Vatican and in 1575 for stucco decoration in the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome. “Lutii de Lutiis” or “Lutio da Todi” is mentioned in other documents as well, but whether those references are all to the same artist is not clear.

Luzio's many drawings have only in the last few decades begun to be singled out from those of Perino del Vaga and his circle.

Luzio Romano

98. Design for Grotesque Decoration

1975.I.334

Pen and brown ink, brown wash. 273 x 224 mm. Laid down. Inscribed on the recto in pen by the artist: *campo rosso / nero / verde / azzurro / giallo / verde / nero / biāco / campo rosso / giallo / giallo / biancho / verde / nero*. Annotated on the verso of the backing in pencil, perhaps in Mayor's hand(?): *G. da Udine / Zu(?) Nanni*; in pen and black ink: *W. C. 1245 1442* (1245 crossed out in pencil), with a red stamp: *M. K. & CO.*

Like a great many other drawings of its kind, this sheet has been traditionally attributed to Giovanni da Udine (also called Giovanni Nanni), the painter, stuccoist, and architect who collaborated with Raphael and with Perino del Vaga on several projects in Rome. William Mayor may have written Giovanni da Udine's name on the verso of the backing in the nineteenth century.¹ And it was as Giovanni da Udine's that Szabo published the drawing as recently as 1983, comparing it with the decoration in the Vatican Loggie, in the Villa Madama in Rome, and, with reservations, on the ceiling of the Palazzo Baldassini,

which was built in Rome by Antonio da Sangallo between 1514 and 1522.²

As the most important exponent of *grotesche all'antica*, Giovanni da Udine has understandably been credited with a number of similar drawings. But it should be remembered that, thanks to Giovanni and, even more so, Perino del Vaga and their many followers, the enthusiasm for grotesque designs inspired by the antique soon spread beyond Raphael's circle in Rome to other parts of Italy, and such decoration continued to be popular all through the sixteenth century and into the seventeenth. Most of these designs remained faithful to the archaeological models, the canonical prototype being the Domus Aurea in Rome,³ and formulas for subjects and even styles and techniques became fixed in a way that left little scope for invention. In the absence of precise documentation, it is therefore extremely difficult to single out artists or schools or to determine dates for the full-scale, polychrome *grotesche* on frescoed walls, much less for the many drawings for them that have survived. Only recently has some order been brought to this situation by studies that have assembled groups of drawings that can be more or less clearly connected with fresco cycles and with identifiable artists.

One of the artists for whom it has been possible to gather a homogeneous nucleus of drawings is Luzio Romano, who is known to have worked with Perino del



Fig. 98.1 Luzio Romano, *Study for a Vault*. Royal Library, Windsor Castle. Photograph copyright Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II



No. 98

Vaga on the decoration of the Palazzo Doria in Genoa and the Castel Sant'Angelo in Rome.⁴ Luzio's "cellular" style, as it has been felicitously described,⁵ can be seen in our drawing as well, not only in the overall composition but in the tiny figures, executed with a fluent line that is clearly indebted to Perino but lacks his characteristic vibrancy and incisiveness, and in the decorative motifs, all somewhat finicky and threadlike, with a prevalence of small friezes, garlands, and geometric framework that is very precise yet lacks coherence. Cogent comparisons can be made, for example, between this sheet and six drawings at Windsor that can be related to the stucco decoration of the shallow domes over a staircase in the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome, work for which Luzio was paid in 1575.⁶ Garlands much like these appear on the verso of a sheet in the Musée Condé, Chantilly, the recto of which may be a study for the ceiling in the Hall of the Zodiac in the Palazzo Doria, Genoa, on which Luzio worked from about 1528 to 1533.⁷ And our drawing can be compared even more convincingly with preparatory drawings Luzio made between 1543 and 1545 for his painted and stuccoed decorations in the Castel Sant'Angelo, among them a sheet at Windsor (Fig. 98.1) that is a study for a vault in the Biblioteca⁸ and two others, one at Windsor⁹ and the other in the Musée Condé,¹⁰ that are designs for the walls in the room known as La Cagliostro.

Although the autograph color notations leave no doubt that it is a preparatory study rather than a mere sketch, this drawing corresponds to none of the completed grotesque decoration that can be attributed to Luzio Romano.¹¹ Because it lacks any indication of architectural framing elements and because the panel with Athena seems too small to serve as a central motif, this is most likely a design not for the center of a wall but for part of a painted and stuccoed ceiling organized in concentric bands like that in the Castel Sant'Angelo library. The sheet's small size compared with that of other studies like it and the fact that the roundels and rectangular panels at the sides have been cropped lead one to suspect that this is a fragment of a larger design, perhaps for a corner.

NOTES:

1. Mayor's mark appears on the recto along with another, unidentified owner's mark: a small circle and a *k*. The Heseltine mark is on the verso of the backing. The numbers that accompany the red dealer's stamp are explained in a letter of November 18, 1985, from Melissa Brown of M. Knoedler and Co. (Robert Lehman Collection files): "Our stock records show that the drawing 'Study for Wall

Decoration' by G. da Udine was here twice. It came in from Colnaghi & Obach, London, The J. P. Heseltine Collection on August 20, 1918 and was assigned stock #WC 1245. In November 1919, it was sold to Enrique L. Heniot of 33 W. 67 St., New York City. In July of 1920, the drawing was returned by Mr. Heniot and assigned the new stock #WC 1442. It was sold in December 1925 to Mr. Richard Edelheimer [*sic*] of 140 W. 57 St., New York City."

2. For the Palazzo Baldassini frescoes, see Montini and Averini 1957, especially pp. 33–44, pl. 17, cited in Szabo 1983, no. 31.
3. See Dacos 1969 and 1982.
4. See especially Pouncey and Gere 1962, nos. 184–86; Davidson in Florence 1966a, nos. 72–73; Blunt [1972?], nos. 233–79; Gaudio 1976; Aliberti Gaudio and Gaudio in Rome 1981–82, vol. 2; and Parma Armani 1986.
5. Aliberti Gaudio and Gaudio in Rome 1981–82, vol. 2, p. 22, under no. 6.
6. Royal Library, Windsor Castle, 10850–54, 10867, Blunt [1972?], nos. 233–38, pls. 13–15, figs. 25, 26 (the staircase ceiling). Windsor 10851 and 10854 (*ibid.*, nos. 233, 234, pls. 13, 14) are particularly akin to our drawing. For the documentation of Luzio's work in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, see Pecchiai 1950, pp. 135ff.
7. Musée Condé, 85; Chantilly 1983–84, no. 22.
8. Royal Library, Windsor Castle, 6828; Popham and Wilde (1949) 1984, no. 980; Rome 1981–82, vol. 2, no. 6, ill.
9. Royal Library, Windsor Castle, 10847; Blunt [1972?], no. 474, pl. 18; Rome 1981–82, vol. 2, no. 18, ill.
10. Musée Condé, 73; Rome 1981–82, no. 19, ill.; Chantilly 1983–84, no. 21.
11. Not even Aliberti Gaudio and Gaudio (oral communication, 1985) have been able to match this drawing to finished decorations.

PROVENANCE: William Mayor, London (Lugt 2799); Jeffrey Whitehead, London; Whitehead sale 1903, lot 19; John Postle Heseltine, London (Lugt 1507); [P. and D. Colnaghi and Obach, London]; [M. Knoedler and Co., New York and London]; Enrique L. Heniot, New York; [M. Knoedler and Co., New York and London]; [Richard Ederheimer, New York]; Philip Hofer, Cambridge (Mass.).

EXHIBITED: Tokyo 1977, no. 4, ill.; New York 1979, no. 9, ill.

LITERATURE: Mayor 1871, no. 66; Mayor 1875, no. 81; Szabo 1983, no. 31, ill.

Giuseppe Salviati

(Giuseppe Porta, called Il Salviati)

Castelnuovo Garfagnana (Lucca) ca. 1520–Venice
ca. 1575

According to Vasari's brief account of his life, as a youth Giuseppe Porta was taken to Rome to study under Francesco Salviati, whose name he later took. When Francesco traveled to Venice in 1539 Giuseppe accompanied him. Francesco probably left Venice early in 1541, and Giuseppe himself relates in the dedication to his treatise *La regola di far perfettamente col compasso la voluta* (1552) that soon after Francesco's departure he too left the city to paint several pictures in Padua. Except for that sojourn and a short trip to Rome in about 1565 to work in the Sala Regia of the Vatican, he was to spend the rest of his life in Venice. He is last documented there in early 1575 and probably died before the year was out.

Little remains from the early years of Giuseppe's career. The paintings he executed for the Libreria in Venice (1556–57) and for San Zaccaria, I Frari, and other Venetian churches and his cartoons for mosaics in San Marco show him well integrated into Venetian artistic circles, particularly those of Titian and Veronese, but they also reveal his role in importing Mannerist elements from central Italy. His Tuscan friends in Venice included the architect Sansovino and the sculptor Danese Cattaneo, and it was most likely through them that he first acquired what was to be a lifelong interest in mathematics and astronomy.

Giuseppe's few known drawings are characterized by strong chiaroscuro and white highlighting applied to typical Tuscan-Roman Mannerist forms on Venetian blue paper.

Giuseppe Salviati

99. The Abduction of Helen

1975.I.405

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, heightened with white (partly oxidized), over traces of black chalk, on light blue paper. 303 x 384 mm. Laid down.

Since 1871, when it was included in William Mayor's catalogue of the drawings in his collection, this sheet has been attributed to Polidoro da Caravaggio, perhaps because the antique theme and the pronounced chiaroscuro

seem to recall Polidoro's facade decorations.¹ But its decided Tuscan-Roman Mannerism dates this drawing to about the mid-sixteenth century, and it shows a "Romanist" taste that was never Polidoro's. In fact, that same intense shading with brown wash, along with the white highlighting and the compact, incisive contours of an obviously Florentine stamp, unequivocally relates this sheet to studies by Giuseppe Salviati.

An initial comparison can be made with Giuseppe Salviati's little-known drawing *Rebecca at the Well* in the Uffizi, Florence.² The background of the Uffizi drawing, similarly rendered in a thready line, also includes summarily drawn figures, classicizing architecture, and a distant landscape that echo the work of Giuseppe's master, Francesco Salviati, as does the curly hair of the man kneeling in the foreground. Two other drawings by Giuseppe in the Uffizi are also relevant: *The Death of Cleopatra*(?), in which the figures' gestures and the concern with light and shadow are similar to those in our drawing,³ and *An Allegorical Figure of Justice*, which can be dated about 1542, some three years after Giuseppe left Rome for Venice, but still shows markedly "Romanist" traits.⁴ The same characteristics are found in *Lucretia Among Her Handmaidens* in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford;⁵ *Bellerophon Slaying the Chimera* in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York;⁶ *Mises Presenting a Large Pomegranate to King Artaxerxes*(?) in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Besançon;⁷ and *Samson Taken Prisoner* in the British Museum, London.⁸ There is also an unquestionable correspondence between the physical characteristics of the figures in the Lehman drawing and those of the figures in Salviati's paintings, from *The Triumph of David* of the mid-1540s for the organ shutters in Santa Maria della Salute, Venice,⁹ to the fresco *The Reconciliation of Pope Alexander III and the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa* of the mid-1560s in the Sala Regia of the Vatican, where one finds numerous figures of the type of the older oarsman with a turban and a short pointed beard in our drawing.¹⁰

Indeed, the quality of our drawing supports the attribution to Giuseppe Salviati himself that McTavish proposed in 1985. Before the Lehman sheet had come to his attention, McTavish had already surmised the existence of an "untraced composition by Giuseppe Salviati" that



Fig. 99.1 After Giuseppe Salviati, *The Abduction of Helen*. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm. Photograph: Statens Konstmuseer, Stockholm

had served as the model for a drawing in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (Fig. 99.1).¹¹ As he has pointed out, the subject of the drawing may be related to mythical assumptions of the founding of Venice by *liberi Troiani*.

This sheet is therefore an important addition to the coherent but not very abundant corpus of drawings by Giuseppe, and it is noteworthy as well for its theatrical interpretation of the subject, a reinvention of the antique in terms of spectacle (the city of Troy is burning in the distance) in a manner that almost anticipates Pietro da Cortona.

NOTES:

1. The drawing had an old backing, now in the Robert Lehman Collection files, that bears an annotation in a nineteenth-century(?) hand: *Polidoro Caldara da Caravaggio 1492–1543*. According to the Parke-Bernet sale catalogue of May 12, 1960, the drawing was once owned by Sir Thomas Lawrence and was later in the collection of a Canadian(?) named Winters. (The catalogue entry reads: “[Winters] . . . / Collection of Sir Thomas Lawrence, P.R.A. / Collection of W. Mayor, Esq., London / From the Garfield Galleries, Toronto, Ont.”)
2. Uffizi, 12823F.
3. Uffizi, 12880F; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 1380, pl. 100.1; see also McTavish 1981, pp. 352–53, under no. 29 (as a copy).
4. Uffizi, 12878F; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 1379 (as Giuseppe Salviati); Florence 1976b, no. 107, fig. 83 (as Giuseppe Salviati); McTavish 1981, pp. 364–65, no. 2, fig. 205 (as a copy after a lost work by Giuseppe Salviati).
5. Parker 1956, no. 687, fig. 153; McTavish 1981, pp. 339–41, no. 19, fig. 198.

6. Janos Scholz Collection, Pierpont Morgan Library; Washington, D.C.–New York 1973–74, no. 101, cover ill.; McTavish 1981, pp. 336–37, no. 17, fig. 177.
7. Musée des Beaux-Arts, 3094; McTavish 1981, pp. 318–20, no. 2, fig. 180.
8. British Museum, 1950.7.27.1; *ibid.*, p. 332, no. 13, fig. 152.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 306–7, no. 36, fig. 145.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 277–78, no. 12, fig. 221. The drawing in the Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth Settlement (17; Tietze and Tietze-Conrat 1944, no. 1376, pl. 98.1; McTavish 1981, pp. 322–23, no. 4, fig. 223), that is a *modello* for the painting in the Sala Regia should also be compared with our sheet.
11. Nationalmuseum, NMHI701b/1875; McTavish 1981, pp. 366–67, no. 4, fig. 153 (as a copy after a lost work by Giuseppe Salviati).

PROVENANCE: Thomas Lawrence, London(?); William Mayor, London (Lugt 2799); Jeffrey Whitehead, London; Whitehead sale 1903, lot 22; [Garfield Galleries, Toronto]; Winters, Canada(?); sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, May 12, 1960, lot 73, ill.

EXHIBITED: New York 1979, no. 16, ill.

LITERATURE: Mayor 1871, no. 61; Mayor 1875, no. 93; McTavish 1985, p. 192, fig. 3.



No. 99

Taddeo Zuccaro

Sant'Angelo in Vado (Marches) 1529–Rome 1566

At the age of fourteen Taddeo Zuccaro left Sant'Angelo in Vado for Rome, where he learned the painter's art virtually on his own. Nothing has survived of his first independent commission as recorded by Vasari, the decoration of the facade of the Palazzo Mattei in Rome that was completed in 1548, or of any of his work before 1553. In 1553, after spending two years in Urbino and Verona, he was hired to assist in the decoration of the Villa Giulia (finished in 1555, before Pope Julius III's death) and to paint frescoes in the Mattei Chapel in Santa Maria della Consolazione in Rome (completed in 1556). In 1559–60, with the help of his younger brother Federico, Taddeo painted two rooms in the Castello Orsini at Bracciano, and in 1561 he won the commission for the decoration of the Palazzo Farnese at Caprarola, on which Federico also collaborated.

In Taddeo's particular version of it the Roman *maniera* took on features of Northern, notably Flemish, origin. His frescoes in the Frangipani Chapel in San Marcello al Corso in Rome (ca. 1558–66) and those in the Sala Regia of the Vatican (1564–66), although symptomatic of late Roman Mannerism, are even more idiosyncratic.

Although Taddeo was something of a grand entrepreneur, overseeing the production of vast decorative cycles like those at Caprarola, he also took a direct hand in various phases of the work, especially, as his many highly personal drawings attest, in the initial designs.

Taddeo Zuccaro

100. The Martyrdom of Saint Paul

1975.I.553

Pen and brown and gray ink, brown wash, over black chalk sketch, heightened with white (oxidized), on buff paper. 488 x 377 mm (two pieces joined). Annotated in pen on the verso in a seventeenth-century hand: *Taddeo Zuccaro 5.4*. Watermark: circle with stars.

In January 1960 Byam Shaw sent a photograph of this drawing, once owned by the English painter and collector Sir Peter Lely (1618–1680),¹ to Robert Lehman in New York. "It seems to me a drawing of the finest quality," Byam Shaw wrote in the accompanying letter, "comparable to the best drawings by Taddeo [Zuccaro] in Chatsworth, Windsor, etc."² By the time the sheet was

included in the New York exhibition of 1965–66 Gere had recognized it as a study for the fresco in the center of the vault of the Frangipani Chapel in San Marcello al Corso in Rome (Fig. 100.1).³

Gere discussed the decoration of Mario Frangipani's family chapel in the monograph on Taddeo Zuccaro's drawings he published in 1969, illustrating the frescoes and several preparatory drawings for them, including ours. Although the exact date when Taddeo was contracted to paint the scenes from the life of Saint Paul in the chapel is not known, Gere said, "this must have been between 1556 and 1558. Vasari says that he received the commission after the unveiling of the Mattei Chapel in 1556, and had not long begun work when he had to break off in order to decorate another church in Rome [San



Fig. 100.1 Taddeo Zuccaro, *The Martyrdom of Saint Paul*. Frangipani Chapel, San Marcello al Corso, Rome. Photograph: J. A. Gere, *Taddeo Zuccaro: His Development Studied in His Drawings* (London: Faber and Faber, 1969), no. 83



No. 100

Giacomo degli Spagnoli] for the obsequies of the Emperor Charles V. This ceremony took place on March 4, 1559, so that the decoration of the Frangipani Chapel is likely to have been begun, at the latest, by the end of 1558."⁴ Because the vault was obviously the first portion of the chapel frescoed, it is possible to assign a precise date to this highly finished drawing, which is virtually a *modello* and was therefore produced in the final phase of working out the composition.

Except for the variations in the saint's hands and the executioner's stance, the two principal figures differ very little from drawing to fresco. In both, as Bean and Stampfle have noted, the ax rather than the traditional sword as the instrument of the saint's martyrdom is a peculiar departure from standard iconography.⁵ The two versions diverge to a greater extent in the backgrounds. Although the buildings and, except that they have been shifted to the right, the standards and lances are much the same in both drawing and painting, in the drawing the crowd of onlookers is larger and more brilliantly characterized. The clearly defined contrast between shadow and light in the drawing also contributes to a richer, more dramatic effect. The final version may have been simplified, as Gere has suggested, to facilitate reading the scene from below in the high-vaulted chapel. Both drawing and fresco are markedly Roman in manner, but echoes of Perino del Vaga are more apparent in the drawing, indeed so much so that, as Gere observed, the warriors at the sides recall Perino's drawings of about a decade earlier for the grisailles in the Sala Paolina in the Castel Sant'Angelo. The change in the warrior at the right is most remarkable: the figure drawn with a vigorous line that is decidedly reminiscent of Perino has in the fresco taken on a static, statuelike pose and ponderous form that bring to mind Michelangelo's *Risen Christ* in Santa Maria sopra Minerva. Another of the ceiling frescoes in the chapel, *The Raising of Eutychus*, is similarly simplified and deliberate, even classicizing, whereas in the preparatory study for it in the Metropolitan Museum⁶ the chiaroscuro is so dramatic and the gestures are so agitated as to evoke Venice, and in particular Giuseppe Salviati (see No. 99).

Our drawing must have become famous at an early date. Gere identified three contemporary copies of it, one in the Louvre, Paris,⁷ and two in the British Museum, London.⁸ Two other drawings of the same scene, in the Biblioteca Reale, Turin,⁹ and the Art Museum, Princeton University,¹⁰ were more likely to have been copied either from an intermediate drawing or from the fresco itself.

NOTES:

1. The attribution to Taddeo Zuccaro may have been written on the verso when the sheet was in Peter Lely's collection.
2. Byam Shaw's letter to Robert Lehman of January 29, 1960, on the letterhead of P. and D. Colnaghi and Co., London (Robert Lehman Collection files), continues, "I know you prefer rather earlier drawings, but the finest of the Italian Mannerists are very impressive." According to a note in the Robert Lehman Collection files, Byam Shaw reiterated his conviction that the drawing is a work of Taddeo's when he examined it during a visit to the Lehman residence in New York on April 12, 1963. "The British Museum (Mr. Gere or Mr. Pouncey)," the note quotes Byam Shaw as saying, "thought it was a copy. . . . They have since regretted this opinion."
3. Gere's opinion is cited by Bean and Stampfle in New York 1965-66, no. 135.
4. Gere 1969, pp. 71-72. For the frescoes in the Frangipani Chapel, see *ibid.*, pls. 83, 85, 89-91, 98, 104, 107. In 1983 Szabo dated the Lehman drawing to 1556.
5. Bean and Stampfle in New York 1965-66, no. 135.
6. Metropolitan Museum, 67.188; Gere 1969, no. 142, pl. 84; Bean and Turčić 1982, no. 280, ill.
7. Louvre, 11558; Gere 1969, p. 180, under no. 147.
8. British Museum, 5211.50, 5237.128; *ibid.*; Gere and Pouncey 1983, nos. 393, 394.
9. Biblioteca Reale, 16047; Bertini 1958, no. 424. As Byam Shaw pointed out in his letter of January 29, 1960, to Robert Lehman (see note 2 above), Bertini classed the drawing as a "copy after Tibaldi(?)," although, as Bertini himself remarked, Popham had already supposed it was a copy after Taddeo Zuccaro.
10. Art Museum, Princeton University, 51.114; Gibbons 1977, no. 708, ill. Gibbons noted that Bean had identified the drawing as a copy after Taddeo Zuccaro.

PROVENANCE: Peter Lely, London (Lugt 2092); [P. and D. Colnaghi and Co., London]. Acquired by Robert Lehman from Colnaghi in 1960.

EXHIBITED: New York 1965-66, no. 135, ill.; Tokyo 1977, no. 10, colorpl. 10; New York 1979, no. 38, ill.

LITERATURE: Gere 1969, pp. 74-75, 180, no. 147, pl. 82; Szabo 1975, p. 104, pl. 178; Gibbons 1977, under no. 708; Hibbard 1980, p. 256, fig. 469; Bean and Turčić 1982, under no. 280; Gere and Pouncey 1983, under nos. 393, 394; Szabo 1983, no. 44, ill.; Rome 1984c, p. 115, fig. 57.

Federico Zuccaro

Sant'Angelo in Vado (Marches) ca. 1540–Ancona 1609

In 1550, when he was about ten years old, Federico Zuccaro was sent to Rome by his parents to train as a painter under the tutelage of his elder brother Taddeo. He remained in his brother's sway until Taddeo died in 1566, although during a visit to Venice in 1564 he was impressed by Venetian painting, especially that of Paolo Veronese. Federico spent much of his career in Rome. He also traveled extensively, however, not only to various parts of Italy (Marches, Piedmont, and Emilia, in addition to lengthier sojourns in Venice and Florence) but also to England (ca. 1574–75) and Spain (1585–89), where he worked for Philip II at the Escorial. In 1593 he founded the Accademia di San Luca in his own palazzo in Rome, and in 1598 he became its *principe*.

Federico's decoration of the dome of the cathedral of Florence, which he completed after Vasari had left it unfinished in 1574 and which is his best-known work, is the most extreme expression of his Roman-Emilian style. The narrative frescoes he painted in the Palazzo Farnese at Caprarola and other Italian palaces evince his "courtly" manner.

Some of Federico's many drawings, the most interesting of which are life studies and portraits, are still confused with those of his numerous pupils and imitators.

Federico Zuccaro(?)

101. A Swiss Guard

1975.1.552

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over extensive black chalk underdrawing; squared in black chalk. 232 x 131 mm. Fully laid down on an old mount with gilded framing. Annotated in pen at the bottom of the mat in an eighteenth-century hand: *Fed:^{co} Zuccari*. Annotated on the back of the mount in pen in an eighteenth-century hand: *Ql(?) 25. / Zg 15 / LL 27.*; in pencil in a modern hand: *D3246* [Colnaghi's inventory number]/ *Federigo Zuccaro 1543–1609 / Arrived in England 1574 / Coll. Jonathan Richardson. / L G D (?)*.

This study of a Swiss guard bowing ceremoniously suggests nothing so much as an actor announcing a scene to an audience. It was certainly made in preparation for a large historical or religious canvas or fresco. The precise squaring confirms that the figure was meant to be enlarged and transferred to a more complex composition in which it would have functioned much like the Swiss

guards in the left foreground in three drawings by Federico Zuccaro: *A Pope Receiving an Emperor on the Steps of a Church* (Fig. 101.1) and *The Emperor Frederick Barbarossa Submitting to Pope Alexander III*, both from the Janos Scholz collection and now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York,¹ and *Pius IV Creating Carlo Borromeo Cardinal*, in the Uffizi, Florence.² Accessory figures like ours, though in different costumes and poses, also appear in two other drawings by Federico: one of those sheets, in a private collection in London, also depicts the emperor Barbarossa and Pope Alexander III and, like the Scholz drawing, is a study for the painting in the Palazzo Ducale in Venice that Federico began in 1582 and completed some twenty years later;³ the other, in the Frits Lugt collection, Paris, is a study in Federico's later style of a pope receiving homage that Byam Shaw has related to one of the frescoes Federico painted in the Sala Regia of the Vatican.⁴



Fig. 101.1 Federico Zuccaro, *A Pope Receiving an Emperor on the Steps of a Church* (detail). Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, the Janos Scholz Collection



No. 101

Our drawing has been attributed to Federico Zuccaro at least since the eighteenth century, when it was in the collection of Jonathan Richardson Senior.⁵ Byam Shaw ascribed it to Federico in 1961, at the time Robert Lehman purchased it through Colnaghi's in London,⁶ and when Szabo exhibited it in New York in 1979 he assigned it to "Federico's mature period." Apparently no one else has studied it. The drawing and its style undoubtedly belong to Federico's sphere, but there may be some doubt as to whether this narrow-chested, heavy-legged figure was drawn by Federico himself. In drawings securely attributed to Federico the line is almost invariably more fluent and the handling of the wash more precise than they are here. Then too, this drawing exhibits a certain sense of realism pushed almost to caricature and a linear incisiveness of markedly Northern taste that are rather beyond Federico's usual graphic style. One is therefore inclined to wonder if this could be the work of an imitator or follower whose experience was even broader than Federico's.

NOTES:

1. Gere 1970, nos. 20 (Pierpont Morgan Library, 1983.68), 21, pls. 13, 14; Washington, D.C.—New York 1973–74, no. 11, ill.
2. Uffizi, 11031F; Florence 1966b, no. 78.
3. Gere 1970, p. 132, under no. 21, fig. 1.
4. Fondation Custodia, 1972-T.68; Byam Shaw 1983, no. 138, pl. 162.
5. In the Robert Lehman Collection files there is a section of an old backing recently removed from this drawing that is annotated in pencil in a modern hand: D3246 [Colnaghi's inventory number] / *Federico Zuccaro 1543–1609 (arrived in England 1574) / Coll: Jonathan Richardson / The collector's mark © = Lugt 2925, unidentified, / "perhaps an English collection". / The mount, inscription, and catalogue notes on the back of the mount are Richardson's own / L G D(?)*.
6. Letters on P. and D. Colnaghi and Co. stationery from Byam Shaw to Robert Lehman, March 10 and 23, 1961 (Robert Lehman Collection files).

PROVENANCE: Jonathan Richardson Senior, London (Lugt 2184); private collection, England(?) (Lugt 2925); [P. and D. Colnaghi and Co., London]. Acquired by Robert Lehman from Colnaghi in 1961.

EXHIBITED: New York 1979, no. 62, ill.

Alessandro Casolani

Siena 1552/53–Siena 1606/7

Alessandro Casolani was trained as a painter in his native city of Siena. He may have spent some time in the workshop of Arcangelo Salimbeni, and he also worked with Cristoforo Roncalli. In the last quarter of the sixteenth century Casolani and Roncalli were among the major interpreters of a stylistic trend harking back to Beccafumi.

Casolani traveled to Rome with Roncalli in about 1578. That he was impressed by what artists there were doing at the time is evident in the paintings he produced on his return to Siena, among them *The Roman Populace Consigns the Keys of Castel Sant'Angelo to Urban VI in the Presence of Saint Catherine*. As a typical exponent of the art of the Counter-Reformation, Casolani executed many narrative paintings on sacred themes, both on canvas and in fresco. In his drawings his approach was sometimes freer; unlike many of his Siennese contemporaries, he softened Barocci's example to create a fluid linearity redolent of late-sixteenth-century Florentine drawings.

Alessandro Casolani

102. Study for the Figure of Christ in a Deposition

1975.I.269

Red chalk, over traces of an illegible sketch in black chalk. 270 x 165 mm. Laid down. Annotated on the verso in pen in a seventeenth-century hand (visible through the paper): *Ventura Salimbeni*.

In 1955 and 1962, when this drawing was in the hands of F. A. Drey in London, Olsen included it, without comment, in his list of more than thirty autograph studies by Federico Barocci for his celebrated *Deposition* (1568–69), in the Chapel of San Bernardino in the cathedral of Perugia (Fig. 102.1). In 1978, though they remarked that its technique is "unusual for Barocci," that it is "executed exclusively in red chalk, and the contours are softened with a delicate web of hatched and cross-hatched lines," and that it evidently "was not done from life," Pillsbury and Richards also catalogued the drawing as a study by Barocci for the Perugia *Deposition*.¹ And Szabo did the same when he exhibited it in New York in 1979. Except for a brief mention in 1975 in a Schab Gallery catalogue, the drawing has not been included in studies on Barocci in general or on *The Deposition* in particular.²



No. 102



Fig. 102.1 Federico Barocci, *The Deposition*. Chapel of San Bernardino, Perugia Cathedral. Photograph: Andrea Emiliani, *Federico Barocci*, vol. 1 (Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1985), p. 60

This drawing is indeed unusual for Barocci. The red chalk on white paper accentuates the stylistic disparity between this figure and the drawings securely assigned to him, particularly the preparatory studies for *The Deposition*. Those drawings, many of which are in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, and the Uffizi, Florence, are nearly all in black and white chalk, sometimes with touches of red chalk, on blue paper.³ The effect is intensely chromatic and full of chiaroscuro. Furthermore, those studies are executed with a decisive, splintery line, whereas in our drawing the contours are slow and continuous, and the contrast between light and shadow, achieved with parallel hatching and soft, waxy modeling, is much less strong. All these characteristics point to an ambience indirectly influenced by Barocci. They also evoke the academicism that at the close of the sixteenth century typified the work of certain Siennese or at

any rate southern Tuscan artists who also worked in Rome.

Whoever wrote on the back of the drawing in the seventeenth century was already thinking along these lines when he attributed the drawing to Ventura Salimbeni, the most famous of Barocci's followers in Siena. Yet the handling of this figure, which is anything but angular, and the short, somewhat flaccid limbs are more reminiscent of the drawings of Alessandro Casolani. Casolani often used red chalk, particularly for nude studies (see Fig. 102.2) and studies for the figure of Christ.⁴ This figure also recalls those in Casolani's paintings. The similarity can best be seen in his small works like the pictures that adorn the funeral biers in Buonconvento or Roccalbegna or the ciborium in Sant'Egidio, Montalcino,⁵ but it is apparent as well in large paintings like the frescoes he painted about 1600 in Santissima Trinità, Siena.⁶

That this figure so closely follows the figure of Christ in Barocci's *Deposition* might suggest that it is a copy by Casolani either of the painting itself, of a lost study by Barocci, or, as we do not know if Casolani was ever in Perugia, of a drawing or copy by some other artist.⁷ Whatever the case, the attempts to work out the pose of the legs would appear to indicate that the artist was not simply making a copy of the figure for its own sake but studying it with a view toward incorporating it into a work of his own.



Fig. 102.2 Alessandro Casolani, *Saint John*. Biblioteca Marucelliana, Florence. Photograph: *Disegni e incisioni della raccolta Marucelli (Sec. XV-XVII)* (exhib. cat., Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, 1983-84), no. 23

NOTES:

1. Pillsbury and Richards in New Haven–Cleveland 1978, no. 21.
2. The Schab catalogue (New York [1975]) refers to the drawing as a study for Barocci's *Deposition* and as still in the Drey collection, though it was by then owned by Robert Lehman. The drawing is not mentioned in Florence 1975; Bologna 1975, no. 50 (with the related drawings); Walters 1978; or Emiliani 1985, pp. 60–75.
3. Among Barocci's studies for *The Deposition*, see especially the *Two Male Figures* in the Biblioteca Hertziana, Rome (3, recto), and the *Male Torso* in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (kdz20466), both on blue paper (Bologna 1975, nos. 46, 48, ill.; Emiliani 1985, figs. 119, 129). See also the *Bust and Legs of a Man* in the Kupferstichkabinett (kk20468; Emiliani 1985, fig. 127), in which, as here, the drawing of the legs, perhaps inspired by a statue, is a further study for the legs of Christ.
4. See, for example, the drawings by Casolani in the Uffizi: 4964S, *Christ Crucified*; 4934S, *Three Studies for a Crucified Christ* (photograph S.B.A.S. 152642); 4991S, *Studies for a Crucified Christ*, 4992S, *Christ in Deposition* (photograph S.B.A.S. 152655); 4891S, *Nude Study*; and 4893S, *Three Nude Studies, Perhaps for Christ at the Column* (photograph S.B.A.S. 80030). In the Biblioteca Marucelliana, Florence,

see B32, *Four Nudes*, and C92, *Saint John* (Florence 1983–84, nos. 22, 23, ill.); in the Musée Magnin, Dijon, see 384, *Crucifixion and Figures* (Brejon de Lavergnée 1980, no. D9, ill.); and in the Louvre, Paris, see R.F.34508, *Nude Studies* (recto and verso), and 11833, *Christ on the Cross* (Viatte 1988, nos. 100, 113, ill.).

5. For the ciborium, see Siena 1980, no. 25, ill.
6. See Riedl 1978.
7. Even though Casolani collaborated with Andrea Andreani and had close contact with other printmakers, it is less likely that he knew *The Deposition* from a print. One of the two known engravings of Barocci's painting, by Francesco Villamena, dates from 1606, the probable year of Casolani's death, and the other, by Domenico Falcini, who was active well into the seventeenth century, is perhaps even later. The engravings are mentioned in Olsen 1962, under no. 21.

PROVENANCE: [F. A. Drey, London]; [Mathias Komor, New York]. Acquired by Robert Lehman from Komor in March 1965.

EXHIBITED: New Haven–Cleveland 1978, no. 21, ill.; New York 1979, no. 49, ill.

LITERATURE: Olsen 1955, under no. 21; Olsen 1962, under no. 21, pl. 24b; New York [1975], under no. 2.

ITALY

Seventeenth Century

Emilia(?)

Early seventeenth century

103. Recumbent Nude

1975.I.317

Red chalk. 75 x 108 mm. Mounted on an old mat. Somewhat damaged. Annotated on the verso in pen in an eighteenth-century hand, visible through the paper: *Borgognone(?)*.¹ Annotated on the front of the mat at the lower left in pen and light brown ink in an eighteenth-century hand: *Coreggio*; at the lower right in pencil in a nineteenth-century hand: *Coreggio Crozat Coll.* Annotated on the back of the mat in pen in the same eighteenth-century hand as the writing on the front: *A. Coreggio*; and in red ink in a nineteenth-century hand: *Lot 376*. Annotated in pen and brown ink on the backing: *L. 81.1.d.*

That this sheet was once owned by Jonathan Richardson Junior (1694–1771) lends interest to the attribution to Correggio written on the eighteenth-century mat.² Ragghianti Collobi has also suggested that the drawing may have been part of Vasari's *Libro de' disegni*, but there is no evidence to support that hypothesis. Moreover, as Popham observed in 1957 when he listed it among "drawings wrongly attributed" to Correggio, its style dates it to the seventeenth century, or at least a half-century after Vasari's death.³

The scholar or collector who ascribed this figure study to Correggio may have remarked its close relationship, which has since gone unnoticed, to Christ in the painting *Lamentation over the Dead Christ* now in the Museo di Capodimonte, Naples (Fig. 103.1).⁴ The painting, which is really more a bozzetto on panel, came to Naples in 1734 from the Palazzo del Giardino in Parma, where a 1680 inventory ascribes it to Jusepe de Ribera (Lo Spagnoletto). In eighteenth-century Capodimonte catalogues, however, it is attributed to Correggio, and when the French carried it off and then returned it to Naples in 1802 they believed it to be a "sketch by Correggio." The painting's fame has waned through the years along with the prestigious attribution to the Parmese master. Ricci rejected it as Correggio's as early as 1894,⁵ and since then it has been indisputably considered a work of the seventeenth century. After being given various attributions, to an anonymous Emilian and even (at Ricci's suggestion) to Annibale Carracci, it was once again ascribed to Ribera by Longhi, who proposed that Ribera could have painted it in Parma before he arrived in Rome and eventually settled in Naples in 1616.⁶

The close correlation between our figure and the figure of Christ in the painting allows us to hypothesize that the drawing is either a preparatory study for the paint-

ing or a copy made directly from it. But even if we accept the painting as Ribera's, it is difficult to imagine that the study is from his hand. The fluid, soft line and nuanced shadows of this drawing are very different from what is readily recognized as Ribera's graphic style. None of Ribera's early drawings, from the period before he went to Naples in 1616, have survived, but his later work is well documented with examples from different phases and in different techniques.⁷ It is highly unlikely that even in his very early years he could have produced a study so stylistically remote from his usually idiosyncratic and robust drawings – unless, of course, one wishes to suppose that a particularly painterly phase, much indebted to Correggio, ensued from his early visit to Parma. The naturalistic rendering of the bony hip and sharp knees and the bold foreshortening do have a soft, cushiony intonation that brings to mind Correggio's virtuoso *sotto in su* effects, for example in the *Antiope* in the Louvre. But the supple form of the figure is less articulated, more of the type that Schedoni derived from Correggio, as can be seen in Schedoni's *Saint Sebastian Healed by the Pious Women* in the Museo di Capodimonte, Naples. Schedoni's studies, however, are more solid, with sfumato that is less transparent than this, so much so, in fact, that he cannot even be considered in connection with our drawing.⁸

In sum, the drawing may be by an Emilian artist who was carrying Correggio's approach into the seventeenth century, whether he merely copied the figure from the painting attributed to Ribera (or from a common prototype), or was himself that problematic work's author.



Fig. 103.1 Italy, seventeenth century, *Lamentation over the Dead Christ*. Museo di Capodimonte, Naples. Photograph: Soprintendenza ai Beni Artistici e Storici, Naples



No. 103

NOTES:

1. The writer might have thought this could be a study for a fallen soldier in one of the many battle scenes painted by Jacques Courtois, called *Il Borgognone*, in the seventeenth century. This drawing bears no resemblance, however, to the drawings of either Jacques Courtois or his brother Guillaume, who was also known as *Il Borgognone*, many of which are in Düsseldorf and Rome (see Graf 1976 and Rome 1979b).
2. Antonio Allegri, called *Correggio* / 1494–1534 is also written in what might be an eighteenth-century hand on one of two old labels removed from this sheet's backing and preserved in the Robert Lehman Collection files. The other label bears an annotation in the same hand: *From the Coll^{on} of / Queen Christina of Sweden 1663 / Jonathan Richardson sold 1772*. The catalogue of the Koch sale in 1923 and that of the exhibition in Buffalo in 1935 also said the drawing came from the collection of Queen Christina. See Lugt 1921 and 1956, no. 474.
3. The drawing was nonetheless exhibited in Buffalo in 1935 and in New York in 1979 as by *Correggio*.
4. Museo di Capodimonte, 83975; De Rinaldis 1928, no. 345, pp. 137–39, pl. 43 (as “Ignoto – Italia Superiore”). The panel measures 76 x 96 cm. The information about the various changes in attribution was courteously supplied by the Soprintendenza ai Beni Artistici e Storici, Naples.
5. Ricci in *Napoli nobilissima* 9 (1894), p. 130.
6. Longhi's (oral) opinion was accepted by Bologna; see Spinosa and Pérez Sánchez 1978, no. 427 (Spinosa is skeptical about the attribution to Ribera).
7. Vitzthum has made fundamental contributions to the study of Ribera's drawings (see Florence 1967a, Paris 1967, and Vitzthum 1971a, b), and see also Brown in Princeton–Cambridge (Mass.) 1973–74. Our drawing can be related to none of Ribera's few studies in red chalk, including the fairly early *Studies of Cain* and the late *Adoration of the Shepherds* in the Uffizi, Florence (67035, 2189F; Florence 1967a, nos. 50, 43); the *Marsyas*(?), also a quite early work, in the Louvre, Paris (18454; Paris 1967, no. 20); and the *Saint Sebastian*, from the 1620s, in the Gere collection, London (Vitzthum 1971a, p. 81, pl. 3).
8. Compare, for example, one of his most celebrated drawings, the *Study of a Boy* (for the painting *Charity* in the Museo di Capodimonte, Naples) at Chatsworth (367; Roli 1969, pp. 27–28, pl. 36) or, not as well known and much less spectacular but also unlike ours, the *Study of a Putto* in the Prado, Madrid (F.D.1282; Mena Marqués 1983, p. 152, fig. 281). For a recent article on Schedoni, see Miller 1986.

PROVENANCE: Unidentified collector (Lugt and Lugt Suppl. 474 [pseudo-Crozat]); Jonathan Richardson Junior, London (Lugt 2170); Victor Koch, London; Koch sale 1923, lot 44; Herbert Lehman.

EXHIBITED: Buffalo 1935, no. 25, ill.; Northampton (Mass.) 1942–44; New York 1979, no. 20, ill.

LITERATURE: Popham 1957, p. 188, no. A87; Ragghianti Collobi 1974, p. 95.

Central Italy

Seventeenth century

104. A Young Woman Seated in a Chair

1975.I.258

Pen and brown ink on paper washed with light brown. 229 x 179 mm (measurements of the original, now backed). Paper poorly preserved, particularly in the lower half and at the top; some losses filled with gray wash.

According to a note in the Robert Lehman Collection files, this sheet is annotated on the verso (now covered by the backing): *Giovanni Antonio de Corticelli, detto il Pordenone*. This may explain the attribution to the sixteenth-century Venetian school given in the catalogues of the Cincinnati and New York exhibitions of 1959 and 1979.

A precise assessment of this sheet is difficult because of its poor condition,¹ and its rather mediocre quality and insecure form and spatial conception contribute to the difficulty. The chair is ineptly foreshortened and too low to accommodate the seated figure, whose physiognomy and clothing also reflect the artist's uncertainty. The downturned mouth and heavy-lidded eyes are uncharacteristic of the Cinquecento ideal of beauty; central Italian artists like Pacchia or the pseudo-Pacchia or Vincenzo Pagani may have depicted similar women in the mid-1500s, but their faces have more wit and individualized Mannerist character. Furthermore, this woman's clothing, though vaguely sixteenth century, is unlike anything worn by either ladies or courtesans in Cinquecento Italian drawings or paintings and is merely derived from such examples. This type of sleeve appears only in late-sixteenth-century designs for theater costumes, and though the snood recalls those worn by Venetian women, the great cascade of hair escaping from it is both illogical and unusual.

There are other incongruities. For the low-cut square neckline and high waistline of the dress the artist must have looked to Venetian examples, but the so-called Savonarola chair is characteristically Tuscan. The woman's pose, too, is more typical of Tuscan than of Venetian portraits, as can be seen in the drawing *A Woman in Profile* in the National Gallery, Edinburgh.²

The drawing in Edinburgh has been attributed to Beccafumi, which brings us again to the art of central Italy rather than Venice. Yet this is apparently an attempt to produce a "Venetian" portrait, and one can therefore not help suspecting that its author might have been, if

not an outright counterfeiter, someone in the habit of copying and drawing "in the manner of" others, perhaps for engravings. That the rather crudely pointillist shading is somewhat reminiscent of Guercino's drawings and the engravings after them (although different in style) might suggest an artist familiar with the facsimile or aquatint techniques in widespread use in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, although the results were not always of the highest level of technical or artistic quality.

NOTES:

1. The round stamp at the lower right is worn away and difficult to decipher, although it resembles Lugt Suppl. 2833, which in 1956 Lugt thought might be connected with the British painter Hugh Howard (1675–1737; see Lugt 1921, pp. 549–50, no. 2957).
2. National Gallery, D4812; Andrews 1968, p. 16, fig. 136. The drawing, which is of much finer quality than ours, bears an old annotation: *Mecar[ino]* (for Mecherino, Beccafumi's nickname).

PROVENANCE: Hugh Howard, London(?) (similar to Lugt Suppl. 2833, but in red and not a dry stamp); [A. Sambon, Paris]; [Brummer]. Acquired by Robert Lehman from Brummer in 1923.

EXHIBITED: Northampton (Mass.) 1942–44; Cincinnati 1959, no. 218; New York 1979, no. 29, ill.

LITERATURE: Mongan and Sachs 1940, under no. 20.



No. 104

Guercino

(Giovanni Francesco Barbieri)

Cento (Ferrara) 1591–Bologna 1666

Guercino's interest at the beginning of his career in the Cinquecento decorative work of Niccolò dell'Abate and Dosso is apparent in the frescoes he executed in private homes in Cento. That he was aware as well of the seventeenth-century manner of Scarsellino and Bononi can be seen in the altarpieces he executed between 1614 and 1616 for the parish church of Renazzo (Ferrara). He was influenced most, however, by the works of Lodovico Carracci and the other painters of the Carracci family, though he was never actually a member of their "school."

A trip to Venice in 1618 and a brief sojourn in Mantua, where he saw the works of Rubens and Domenico Fetti, convinced Guercino to deepen his knowledge of the art of the Veneto and to intensify the illuministic effects in the already Baroque atmospheric space of his paintings. A good example of this is his *Saint William of Aquitaine Receiving the Habit* of 1620 (Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna). He was also conversant with the Caravaggio tradition, which he came to know directly in 1621–23 in Rome. For Pope Gregory XV in Rome Guercino executed, among other things, the decoration of the Casino Ludovisi, including, in 1621, the illusionistic *Aurora* on the ceiling. In the *Burial and Acceptance into Heaven of Saint Petronilla* he painted for Saint Peter's Basilica in 1622–23 (now Museo Capitolino), naturalistic elements give way to a more cadenced composition verging on classicism.

After the pope died in 1623 Guercino carried out various commissions in Emilia, among them the frescoes of Piacenza Cathedral, and then returned to his native town and set up a studio. The fame he won as leader of the local school in Cento grew when he moved to Bologna after Guido Reni's death in 1642 to take over Reni's religious picture factory. His reputation was assured with the San Brunone altarpiece he painted in 1647 (Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna).

Guercino's penchant for depicting landscape, both in backgrounds and as a central subject, is especially evident in his many drawings. He was also one of the first to treat not only portraits but also caricatures and genre scenes in his drawings, which have been often imitated. He was an engraver as well and derived countless prints from his drawings. The drawings, whether preparatory studies or independent works of art, provide a rich commentary on his paintings.

Guercino(?)

105. A Seated Young Woman Looking over Her Shoulder

1975.I.368

Pen and brown ink. 192 x 151 mm. Laid down.

Of the four sheets in the Robert Lehman Collection that have traditionally been ascribed to Guercino (see also Nos. 106–8), this is the only one whose quality justifies considering the attribution. The sheet's mediocre condition makes any positive judgment difficult. The excessive summariness in certain areas of the figure (her hands, wrists, and right sleeve) and sometimes overly tight treatment (the dots and minute hatching on her breast and right cheek), in principle often present in Guercino's drawings, are rather accentuated here, leaving an overall impression of a certain coldness and lack of consistent formal rigor. Yet such stylistic traits as the soft shading of the eyes, mouth, and hair (exaggerated here by the strong oxidation of the ink), achieved by blotting the wash and adding parallel strokes and dots with the pen, and the treatment of the figure's arms – her right merely suggested with undulating marks, her left catching the light and defined by a thicker stroke – are quite typical of Guercino. On the whole, this portrait is very Guercinesque.

Figures with similar facial features and in a similar pose are found often in Guercino's paintings and drawings. One is reminded, for example, of four paintings in his mature style in which there is a woman in almost the same pose, though in mirror image: the two versions of *Christ and the Samaritan Woman*, one in the Thyssen Bornemisza collection in Lugano, the other in the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa;¹ *The Dismissal of Hagar* (1657–58) in the Brera, Milan;² and the *Medea* in the Louvre, Paris.

A similar type of head appears in several of Guercino's drawings: *Head of a Young Woman* in the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, Rome;³ the *Concert* in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts;⁴ and the *Woman Crying* that was at one time on the London art market.⁵ The young woman with a statuette in her hand in the *Two Seated Women* sold at Sotheby's in 1977 has the same gesture.⁶ And one could cite many similar sheets



No. 105

with similar subjects, among them the *Seated Woman* of about 1640 (later engraved by Zocchi) in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford;⁷ the *Sibyl Holding a Scroll* in the Metropolitan Museum;⁸ the *Pregnant Woman* in the Prado, Madrid;⁹ and the *Half-length Portrait of a Young Woman* in the Art Museum, Princeton University (tentatively attributed to Guercino, engraved by Domenico Maria Bonaveri).¹⁰

The many prints that were made by Guercino's contemporaries after drawings of this sort lead one to suspect that this study, too, was conceived with an etching in mind. Drawings like this were often copied in prints in the eighteenth century, especially in England, by Bartolozzi and others following his example, and such drawings were also imitated, by Bartolozzi himself as well as by Reynolds and Mariette.¹¹

NOTES:

1. Salerno and Mahon 1988, nos. 189, 190. Guercino painted the version in Lugano for Giuseppe Baroni in 1640; the painting in Ottawa was executed for the Abbot Bentivoglio in 1641.
2. Brera, 556; Bologna 1968, vol. [1], no. 102, ill.; Salerno and Mahon 1988, no. 327.
3. Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, F.C.20021; Marangoni 1959, no. 32, ill.
4. Fogg Art Museum, 1929.85; Mongan and Sachs 1946, no. 264.
5. A note on the photograph in the library at the Harvard Center for Renaissance Studies at Villa I Tatti, Florence, says that the drawing was sold at Sotheby's but gives no date.
6. Sale, Sotheby's, London, March 10, 1977, lot 97, ill.
7. Ashmolean Museum, p.867; Parker 1956, no. 867; Oxford-London 1986, no. xv.
8. Metropolitan Museum, 12.56.11; Bean 1979, no. 244, ill.
9. Prado, F.D.393; Mena Marqués 1983, p. 104, fig. 176.
10. Art Museum, 49.68; Gibbons 1977, no. 390, ill. (as school of Guercino); Bagni 1988, no. 193, ill. For Domenico Maria Bonaveri's print, see Bagni 1988, nos. 192, 194.
11. For interesting derivations from Guercino by these three artists, see Paris-Florence 1988, nos. 40-43.

PROVENANCE: George Mounsey, London; sale, Sotheby's, London, December 1, 1966, lot 21.

Follower of Guercino

106. A Falconer in Profile to the Right

1975.I.365

Pen and brown ink. 223 x 159 mm. Some foxing; lower right and both left corners torn. Annotated on the verso in brown ink: No. 8.

This is a good example of a derivation of a Guercino type of drawing by a close follower – though no similar depiction of a falconer can be found in Guercino's work. The definite yet fragile, trembling line and the small, threadlike strokes of parallel hatching for the shadows suggest that this might be the work of a printmaker, or in any case that it might have been intended for a print similar to the one of a bearded man in profile that was executed in 1640 (after a drawing now in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm) by Gianfrancesco Mucci¹ in a manner reminiscent of the etchings of Giuseppe Caletti.² The contemporary clothing and stereotypic gesture, on the



Fig. 106.1 Francesco Curti(?), *Head of a Man*. Gabinetto delle Stampe, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna. Photograph: Giovanna Gaeta Bertelà and Stefano Ferrara, *Incisori bolognesi ed emiliani del sec. XVII* (Bologna: Associazione per le Arti "Francesco Francia," 1973), no. 553



other hand, recall the model-book heads, with their easily recognizable expression and hairstyle, that were engraved by Francesco Curti (see Fig. 106.1)³ and Oliviero Gatti⁴ after Guercino and that popularized a graphic style that was much admired and imitated throughout the seventeenth and into the eighteenth century.

An analogous figure, though drawn in red chalk and without the beard and the falcon, appears on a sheet in the Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice, that is attributed to Guercino himself.⁵ But the shading with threadlike strokes is found in other drawings ascribed to the Guercino school, among them the *Holy Evangelist* and *Saint Peter* in the Uffizi, Florence,⁶ and the *Saint Jerome Writing* in the Metropolitan Museum⁷ (although these three pen drawings were executed by a livelier hand than was ours).

NOTES:

1. Bagni 1988, nos. 145, 146, ill. (Nationalmuseum, NMHI127/1863).
2. See in particular the etching of a man in profile with a tall hat (Gaeta Bertelà and Ferrara 1973, no. 73; not mentioned by Bartsch). For the "threadlike" style, see also *David* and *Samson and Delilah* (Bartsch XX.1, 4; Gaeta Bertelà and Ferrara 1973, nos. 61, 64).
3. See in particular Gaeta Bertelà and Ferrara 1973, nos. 501, 523, 541, 553 (our Fig. 106.1), 555.
4. Bartsch XIX.129, 131, 137, 139; Gaeta Bertelà and Ferrara 1973, nos. 664, 666, 672, 674.
5. Fondazione Giorgio Cini, 36121; Bottari, Roli, and Ottani Cavina 1966, no. 16, ill.; Roli 1972, no. 15.
6. Uffizi, 1683E, 1685E; Petrioli Tofani 1986–87, pp. 694–95, ill.
7. Metropolitan Museum, 60.66.9; Bean 1979, no. 251, ill.

PROVENANCE: Philip Hofer, Cambridge (Mass.).

Follower of Guercino

107. Male Caricature

1975.I.367

Pen and brown ink. 217 x 174 mm. Fully laid down on an old mount. Stained and smudged with red chalk. Annotated on the back of the mount in pencil: *Guercino / from the collection of Conte Gelozzi, Turin.*

The caricatural figure, the simple, continuous outline, and the modeling with short hatchings explain why this sheet has traditionally been ascribed to Guercino. The attribution is untenable, however, because of the drawing's modest quality.



No. 107

Similar figures, inspired by life but exaggerated in physiognomy and attire, appear often in Guercino's drawings. The hooked nose and bushy hair, the ridiculous goatee below the stiff mustache, and the silly plumed "sugarloaf" hat recall, for example, the well-known caricatures of men with round hats at Windsor¹ and the National Gallery, Edinburgh,² and, especially, the *Two Characters of the Commedia dell'arte* at Windsor³ and *Man in Profile with a Knife* in the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.⁴ This figure, too, looks almost as though he might be an actor of the *Commedia dell'arte*. Yet the drawing does not impress one as a real caricature drawn directly from life. The vagueness in the outlines and poor sense of form (note the flat lines of the hat and collar and the lack of planes between the nose and cheeks and on the neck) place this sketch among the many imitations Guercino's contemporaries made of his prototypes, but without his wit and perspicacity.

NOTES:

1. Royal Library, Windsor Castle, 2668 (drawn on a letter that may date to 1635); Bologna 1968, no. 236.
2. National Gallery, D.4897; *ibid.*, no. 237; Andrews 1968, no. 437.

3. Royal Library, Windsor Castle, 2748; Bottari, Roli, and Ottani Cavina 1966, no. 35, ill.; Bologna 1968, no. 228; Roli 1972, no. 47.
4. National Gallery of Canada, 14839 (photograph 92374).

PROVENANCE: Conte Gelozzi, Turin (Lugt Suppl. 545).

Imitator of Guercino

108. Head of a Man with a Turban

1975.I.366

Pen and brown ink. 158 x 181 mm. Fully laid down on an old mount. Traces of red chalk, probably from an imprint of another drawing. A strip 26 mm wide has been added at the top and the drawing completed by another hand in pen and gray ink. Holes restored where ink has eaten through the paper. Annotated on the verso of the mount: *Guerch...*

The traditional attribution of this piece to Guercino should be considered only vaguely indicative of the artistic milieu of the author of this drawing, which is a late and mediocre imitation.

The type of old patriarch depicted here, with a long beard and a broad turban, actually derives from certain figures in Guercino's mature work, such as Abraham in

The Dismissal of Hagar in the Brera, Milan, and (reversed) Joseph of Arimathaea in *The Burial of Christ* in the Art Institute of Chicago.¹ Heads of figures in similar poses and with similar attire also appear in drawings by Guercino and his followers. A sheet at Christ Church, Oxford,² and another in the Uffizi, Florence,³ are cases in point, but both, albeit by students, were drawn in a freer manner than our drawing. This drawing is so cursory and so lacking in psychological insight that it should probably be considered not a product of the Guercino school but rather a generic imitation of Guercino's style.⁴

NOTES:

1. For these two paintings, see Bologna 1968, nos. 102, 99.
2. Christ Church Library, 0583; Byam Shaw 1976, no. 1007 (as studio of Guercino).
3. Uffizi, 93758 (as manner of Guercino).
4. According to a note in the Robert Lehman Collection files, "Tietze" (presumably Erika Tietze-Conrat or Hans Tietze, or both, in the late 1930s or 1940s) said that the drawing was "much later than Guercino."

PROVENANCE: Not established.

EXHIBITED: Poughkeepsie 1942-44.



No. 108

The Veneto

Seventeenth century

109. The Massacre of the Innocents

1975.1.545

Black chalk, heightened with white (partly oxidized), on paper tinted orangish red. 388 x 371 mm. Annotated in pencil at the lower left: 6.

Verso: Sketch of a figure carrying a sword and shield standing over two figures. Black chalk.

The drawing on the recto of this sheet seems to have been made with a particular painting, in a particular location, in mind. Although summarily sketched, this representation of the Massacre of the Innocents seems well thought out and complete, with a clear idea of foreground and background, a compositional link between the actions of the various figures, and a precise visualization of chiaroscuro that indicates a light source from the left.

The sketch on the unprepared paper of the verso, by contrast, is so lacking in any indication of either space or action that it is difficult even to identify the subject. The standing figure might be Virtue, armed with a shield and lance, with Vice fallen screaming at her feet, but this could also be Victory, or perhaps Minerva herself. In any event, this is a composition still in an embryonic phase. The two drawings also appear at first glance to differ in style, the line more fragmented and open in the figures on the recto, more threadlike and repeatedly gone over in those on the verso. Yet on close inspection certain lines on the recto, especially in the secondary planes, can be seen to be no less continuous, and in both sketches the structure of the bodies and the exaggeration of the gestures are quite similar. That they are by the same hand seems plausible.

None of this makes it easy to identify the author. In the catalogue of the New York exhibition of 1979 and again in 1983 Szabo proposed Paolo Veronese. Veronese rarely used tinted paper, however (he preferred black and white chalk on bluish or rough paper or pen on paper washed with ink). Also, his graphic style, whether in finished studies or in pen sketches with multiple figure studies, was quite different from the relaxed line and wildly gesticulating figures that date our sketches well into the seventeenth century. The absence of any even generalized Mannerist formulas in the figures and the overall composition here allows us to rule out as well other sixteenth-century artists from the Veneto, the followers not only of Paolo Veronese but also of Tintoretto or Palma Giovane.

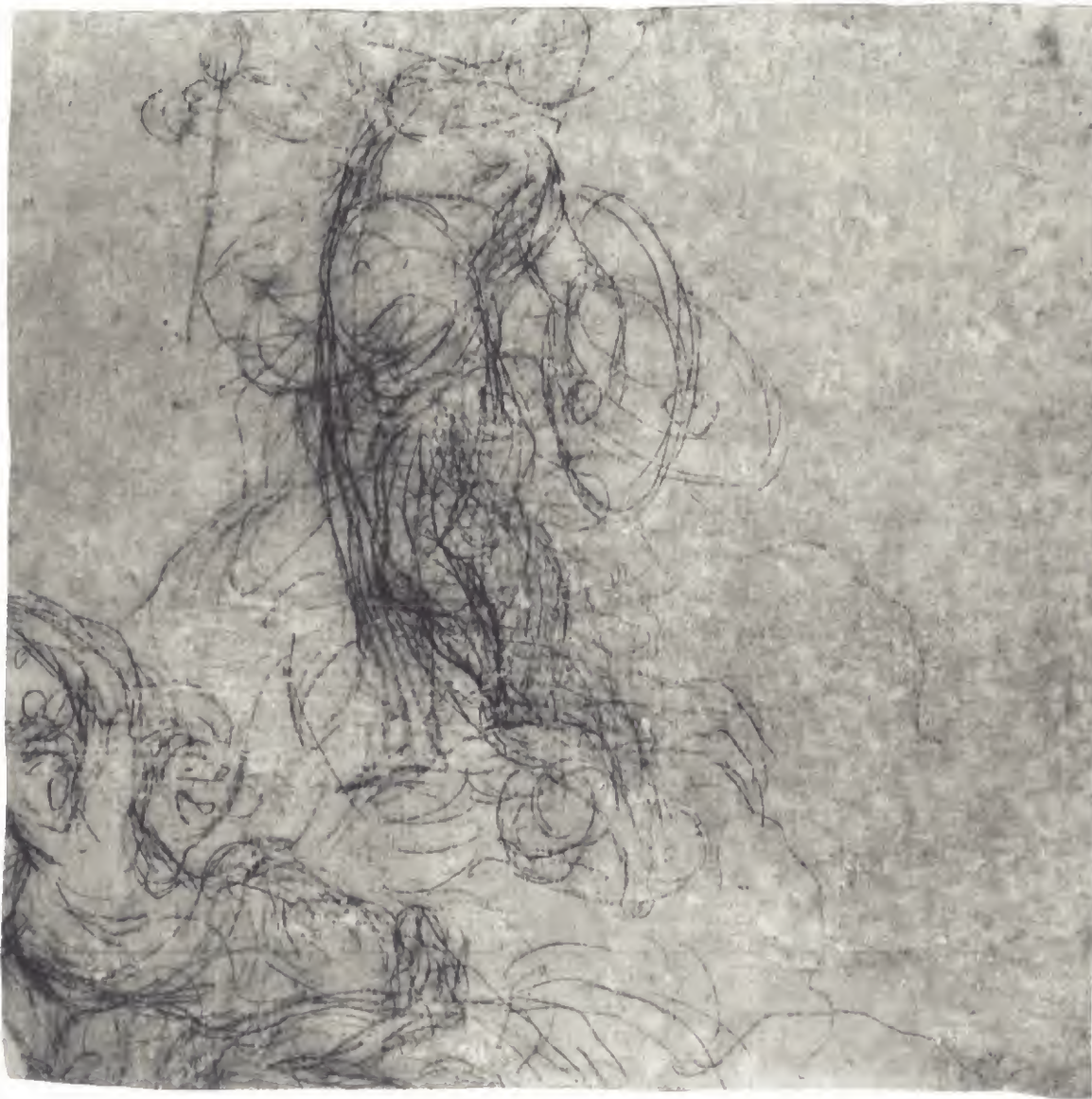
As a whole our drawing is highly effective and quite personal, and the style is decidedly secure; this artist knew how to work with chalk without leaving smudges and how to suggest form and structure with no more than a few well-conceived lines. All of which makes it even stranger that there seem to be no parallels for such a large, vivid drawing. Given the broad composition and the painterly character of the broken and luminous line, one can say that the artist was likely to have been from the Veneto. Yet nothing comparable comes to mind even among the admittedly rather rare drawings produced by Pietro Vecchia, who chose to emulate the Titianesque manner well into the seventeenth century and who drew studies of neo-Cinquecento desperado types like the executioners with their berets all askew in this *Massacre*.¹ Pietro Liberi must also be considered, but his graphic works are also not numerous, nor do they provide ready comparisons with ours.² For the time being at least, with some regret because of its truly singular character, we must therefore leave this sheet without an author.

NOTES:

1. The agitated, spiky line in three nude studies in the Uffizi, Florence (12864F, 12865F, 12888F; see Aikema 1986, pp. 260–61, nos. 10 [pl. 72], 11, 14, and Venice 1959b, no. 49, ill.), all in black chalk, the first on gray, the other two on blue paper (the first also with red and white chalk), and all with seventeenth-century annotations attributing them to Vecchia, is not unlike that used to render the executioners on the recto of our sheet. Other sheets ascribed to Vecchia, among them the signed(?) *Allegory of Poverty* in the Janos Scholz collection, New York (Venice 1957, no. 48, pl. 48), offer even less persuasive comparisons. Vecchia is said to have made a preparatory drawing for a mosaic depicting the Massacre of the Innocents to be executed by Angelo Roncati in San Marco, Venice, but it is difficult to think of our drawing as a design for a mosaic.
2. One is reminded not so much of the securely attributed, signed(?) *Holy Family with Saint Cecilia* in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Parker 1956, no. 894), as of drawings that have been ascribed to Liberi that are looser in style,



No. 109, *recto*



No. 109, verso

such as the *Nativity* in the Scholz collection, New York (Venice 1959b, no. 53, ill.), and a *Venus and Adonis* (?) (Milan 1983, no. 23) in which Venus's gesture resembles that of the armed figure on the verso of our sheet and which is drawn with a broken line like that in the figures on the recto.

PROVENANCE: Not established. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1934.

EXHIBITED: Oberlin 1942–44; New York 1979, no. 47, ill.

LITERATURE: Szabo 1983, no. 47, ill.

Alessandro Maganza

Vicenza 1556–Vicenza 1630 or 1640

Alessandro is the best known of the artists of the Maganza family, the most influential painters in the Vicenza area during the last quarter of the sixteenth century and the first quarter of the seventeenth. The Maganza painted predominantly religious subjects in the spirit of the Counter-Reformation, and their forms were unabashedly borrowed from Venetian art, from the likes of Tintoretto, Veronese, and Palma Giovane. Alessandro was trained by his father, Giovanni Battista the Elder, and he in turn trained his three sons: Giovanni Battista the Younger, Marcantonio, and Girolamo.

In his earliest known work, the *Madonna with Evangelists* of 1580 in Monte Berico Basilica, south of Vicenza, Alessandro put to use not only the instruction of his father and his second teacher, Antonio Fasolo, but also his direct knowledge of Venetian painting, which he had come to know during a stay in Venice between 1572 and 1576. He had thus already laid the groundwork for the style he would retain nearly unchanged throughout his career, an academic Mannerism with religious overtones akin to Palma Giovane's in which, especially after his son Giovanni Battista began to collaborate with him, echoes of Tintoretto and Veronese blend with a luministic Bassanoesque interpretation. Many works typical of his style remain in Vicenza, for example the *Pietà*, painted in the 1580s, in Santa Croce; the decoration of the Oratorio del Gonfalone, which was begun after 1596 and on which he collaborated with other artists; and the *Martyrdom of Santa Giustina* in San Pietro. The *Communion of Saint Bonaventure* he executed for San Lorenzo in 1598 is more personal in tone and its lighting more artificial. In about 1600 he painted the Passion cycle in the Chapel of the Sacrament in Vicenza Cathedral. His decoration of the church of Santi Filippo e Giacomo dates to after 1603, the signed *Adoration of the Shepherds* he and his sons painted for San Lorenzo is from about 1605, and he worked in the Chapel of the Rosary in Santa Corona between 1613 and 1619.

The paintings Alessandro executed for churches in L'Aquila, Bergamo, Brescia, Cremona, and Padua show a gradual regression that culminated in the *Saint Valentine and Saints* of 1620 at Cornedo. Some sources give the date of his death as 1640, but in all likelihood he died during the plague of 1630. Alessandro was a skillful draftsman, and his graphic oeuvre, like that of other members of his family, is in the process of being reconstructed.

Alessandro Maganza

110. Male Figure Seen from Behind

1975.1.249

Pen and brown ink, over a pencil sketch. 303 x 210 mm. Fully laid down on a mat washed with gray-brown around the edges of the drawing.

The traditional attribution of this sheet to the Genoese school of the seventeenth century is in a certain sense justified by the Mannerist treatment of the figure, rendered with sharp strokes that may call to mind certain examples from the circle of Cambiaso or Giovan Battista Castello. A closer examination, however, firmly places this figure in an inland Veneto milieu, in particular among the autograph works of Alessandro Maganza of Vicenza.¹

Ridolfi said that in Maganza's work "the pen no less than the brush strove for happiness."² In fact, among the artists of his family, Alessandro is the one with the richest and best defined profile as a draftsman. That a few of his studies may still be confused with those of his son and collaborator Giovanni Battista the Younger³ is not unusual, for in the tradition of many family studios in the Veneto graphic material was used interchangeably by various artists for numerous different works. Tintoretto worked this way, as did Palma Giovane. Maganza was more than a little indebted to both Tintoretto and Palma Giovane, especially in his figure studies. For many of his compositional studies his favorite models were the sketches of Veronese.

Although no figures identical to this one appear in any of the paintings by the Maganza family or in any of their studies of sacred or historical scenes, the stylized characterization and the pose, albeit reversed or seen from the front, are found in numerous drawings firmly attributable to Alessandro Maganza. Maganza also habitually used V-shaped strokes like these to indicate the muscles in the calves and around the knees and broad, enclosed curves to simulate the curled ends of clothing and hair.

Models of similar physical type (though this drawing seems more mannered than drawn from life) – tall, with long legs, round hips, and a supple torso above a thin waist (a clear echo of Tintoretto) – appear in many of Maganza's studies: *Saint James Major Baptizing Josias* in the Museum Boymans-Van Beuningen, Rotterdam, for the lost painting of the secret oratory of San Gerolamo at Vicenza;⁴ the so-called *Saint Sebastian (Three Studies*



Fig. 110.1 Alessandro Maganza, *Saint Sebastian (Three Studies of a Male Figure Tied to a Tree)*. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, Janos Scholz Collection

of a Male Figure Tied to a Tree) from the Janos Scholz collection, now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (Fig. 110.1);⁵ *Saint Joseph the Carpenter* in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London;⁶ and the *Crucifixion* in the Uffizi, Florence, which bears on its verso an attribution to Alessandro Maganza in a seventeenth-century hand (Baldinucci's?).⁷ One sees similar stylistic patterns in Maganza's pencil drawings, such as the *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence*, a study for the lost painting from the church of San Lorenzo in Vicenza.⁸

Figures in a similar pose are found in the *Crucifixion of Saint Philip* from the Janos Scholz collection and now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York,⁹ Alessandro's preparatory drawing for the painting in the church of Santi Filippo e Giacomo in Vicenza, which he decorated between 1603 and 1610, and in its companion drawing in the Rudolf collection in London, a study for the *Martyrdom of Saint James* in the same church.¹⁰ The page-boy on the stairway in the *Condemnation of Saint*

Lawrence that appeared on the London art market in 1971¹¹ assumes the same pose (but turns his head to the right) and has a similar suppleness, a quality that can also be seen in the rogue facing front to the right of Christ in the *Christ Before Pilate* in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris;¹² the figure to the left in *Christ in the House of Martha and Mary* in the Terence Mullaly collection, London;¹³ and the stableboy on the right in *Saint Benedict Receiving Totila* in the Galleria Estense, Modena, a preparatory drawing for a painting executed in 1616 by Giovanni Battista Maganza the Younger in Santa Giustina in Padua, in which we also find, on the left, a young man in the same pose as our figure.¹⁴

All these drawings are in pen over pencil sketches, some with vivid touches of wash. The pencil line is almost always thin, while the pen lines are supple and rather thick, like brushstrokes, creating the same wavy, pictorial effect we see here. This figure, so rapidly sketched and shown from behind, was probably destined for a marginal part of a crowded composition.

NOTES:

1. Bean, too, thinks this "is certainly part of a group of pen and black chalk drawings usually attributed to Alessandro Maganza" (note from Bean to Kanter, June 22, 1989, Robert Lehman Collection files). Kanter is of the same opinion. In 1982, however, Bean showed some skepticism about attributing the group of drawings to the Vicentine artist (see Bean and Turčić 1982, no. 123).
2. C. Ridolfi 1648, part 2, p. 237: "in cui gareggiò di felicità non meno la penna, che il pennello."
3. Since the initial breakthrough on this matter by the Tietzes (1944, pp. 27, 286, 292), various contributions have gradually shed light on the Maganza, especially Alessandro, as draftsmen. The recent elucidations have put to rest any residual doubts as to the feasibility of attributing to Alessandro a rather substantial nucleus of sheets, many of them from the Moscardo collection but now scattered in several collections, notably the Lugt collection, Fondation Custodia, Paris (Byam Shaw 1983, nos. 252–57); the Fondazione Miniscalchi Erizzo, Verona (Cuppini 1962); the Albertina, Vienna (Venice 1961, nos. 57–58); and the Janos Scholz collection, New York (Venice 1957, nos. 41–44). For recent contributions to the study of Maganza's paintings, see Vicenza 1980, pp. 106–20; Pallucchini 1981, pp. 69–71; and Binotto 1980, pp. 81–109, in which numerous drawings are also discussed. For the drawings, see also Meijer 1984.
4. Byam Shaw 1967, p. 48, no. 9, ill.; Meijer 1984, pp. 476, 480, n. 26, fig. 13. The sheet is from an album that once belonged to Sir Archibald Alison, Glasgow.
5. Pierpont Morgan Library, 1975.37. Since it was published by Muraro (Venice 1957, no. 42, pl. 42) as by Alessandro Maganza, the sheet has been identified by Meijer (1984, pp. 476, 481, n. 32, fig. 18) as probably a preparatory draw-



ing for the *Martyrdom of Beato Lorenzino da Valrovina* formerly in the church of San Sebastiano at Marostica.

6. Victoria and Albert Museum, CA1591; Ward-Jackson 1979–80, no. 190, ill. The drawing has an old, incomplete inscription: *Ale . . . M . . .*
7. Uffizi, 12862F; Florence 1953, no. 22.
8. Museum Boymans-Van Beuningen, s22; Venice–Florence 1985, no. 51, ill. (with a brief summary of Maganza's graphic production).
9. Venice 1957, no. 43, pl. 43 (as Alessandro Maganza). Binotto (1980, p. 87, fig. 4) linked the drawing with the painting in Vicenza.
10. Binotto (1980, p. 88, fig. 8) correctly identified the drawing as a preparatory study for the painting in the church of Santi Filippo e Giacomo.
11. Sale, Sotheby's, London, November 18, 1971, lot 157.
12. Ecole des Beaux-Arts, 400 (with *Venice Crowned* on the verso). Formerly attributed to Tintoretto and to Andrea Vicentino, this drawing has recently been published as Maganza's work by Brugerolles and Guillet (Venice 1988, no. 27, ill., with bibliography).
13. Stock in Venice 1980, no. 43, ill. (as Alessandro Maganza). This drawing was also formerly attributed to Vicentino.
14. Galleria Estense, 1193; Meijer 1984, pp. 474, 480, n. 14, fig. 4 (as Giovanni Battista Maganza the Younger and as a preparatory sketch for the painting of the same subject in Santa Giustina at Padua). Meijer uses this sheet in an attempt at making a first, difficult distinction between the drawings of Alessandro and those of his son. Also worth bearing in mind is a figure similar to ours, but in the act of carrying off a corpse, in the *Miracle(?)* from the Lugt collection, Paris (Fondation Custodia, 4194; Byam Shaw 1983, no. 255, pl. 302 [as Alessandro Maganza]). A figure in a similar pose, but turned three-quarters away, stands on the left in the *Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew* in the Kunsthau Heylshof, Worms (186), formerly ascribed to Tintoretto but recently attributed, correctly, to Alessandro Maganza by Turčić (1986, p. 209, pl. 17).

PROVENANCE: Not established.

EXHIBITED: Oberlin 1942–44.

Tuscany(?)

Early seventeenth century

111. Caricature of a Dwarf Painter at His Easel

1975.I.316

Pen and brown ink, gray and brown wash. 268 x 208 mm. Mounted. Annotated in pencil on the old mount in a nineteenth-century hand, at the top of the recto: *Portrait of Antonio Caracci, called Il Gobbo*; at the bottom of the recto: *An^e: Caracci*; on the back in pencil: *Annibale Caracci*, and in another hand: *Out of the collection of Hugh Howard / From the collection of Hugh Revelery / see Catalogue / This is a caricature of the brother of Annibale Caracci / Antonio Carracci. Annibale's brother Antonio was / a humpback. This drawing which was well known / i[n] the seventeenth century represents "Il Gobbo" / Antonio Caracci standing in his easel / See notices of the drawings and sketches by the late Hugh Revelery. Longwar 1820.*

This drawing was etched in 1736 by the London painter, printmaker, and art dealer Arthur Pond (d. 1758), probably as part of a series of twenty-five caricatures that was completed in 1742.¹ The print (Fig. 111.1) is cap-

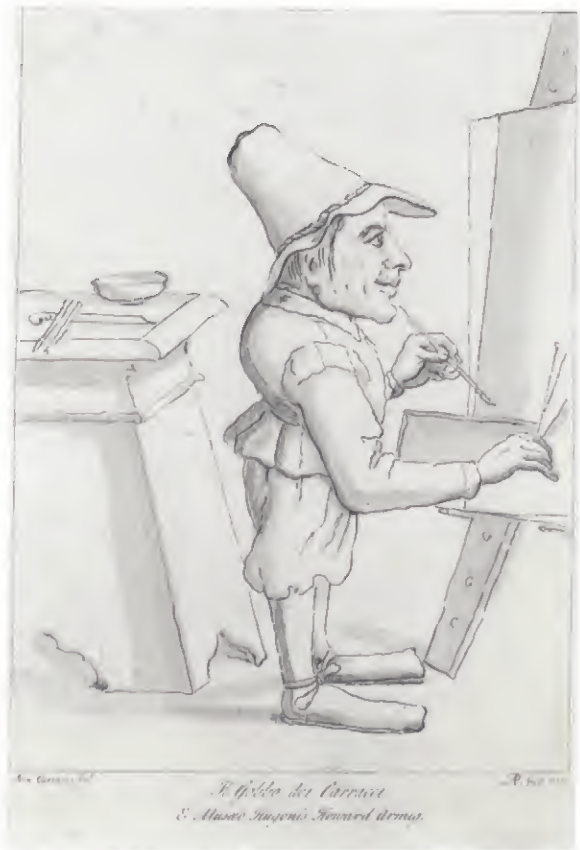


Fig. 111.1 Arthur Pond, *Il Gobbo dei Carracci*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1923 (23.62[25])



No. 111

tioned "Ann. Carracci del . . . Il Gobbo dei Carracci" (the Carracci's Humpback), which was the nickname of Pietro Paolo Bonzi, a painter in the Carracci's circle who specialized in landscapes and still lifes. The Antonio Carracci referred to in the annotations on the drawing's mount was indeed, like other members of his family, a painter (albeit of little fame), but so far as we know he was not humpbacked, and he was not Annibale's brother but the illegitimate son of Annibale's brother Agostino.

The writers of the annotations were more accurate in describing the sheet's provenance. Pond's print, too, refers to Hugh Howard (1675–1737), the London painter and collector, as the drawing's owner. And the collector's mark on the drawing is that of Henry Reveley

(1737–1798), who wrote in his *Notices Illustrative of the Drawings and Sketches of Some of the Most Distinguished Masters* (published in 1820, after his death, by his son Hugh): "My own collection is enriched, by a curious caricature of 'Il Gobbo' standing at the Easel, outlined in bistre and shaded with black, of which a good imitation has been engraved by Pond." When it was offered for sale at Sotheby's in 1924, the drawing, listed as by Annibale Carracci, was also described as "from the Hugh Howard and Hugh Reveley collections."

If this is in fact, as it appears to be, the drawing Pond "imitated" in 1736, the attribution to Annibale Carracci is a tradition now more than two and a half centuries old. Nonetheless, it is difficult to reconcile this rather

ill-conceived and unsuccessful caricature, and the heaviness in both the line and the modeling, with the work of either Annibale or his brother Agostino. Neither among the few celebrated caricatures by Annibale and Agostino Carracci that have survived nor among those that we now know only through prints are there any like this.² The only slightly similar examples would be the *Dwarf Picture-Seller* from the school of Annibale now in the Art Museum, Princeton University,³ and some of Annibale's caricatures in chalk in the Graphische Sammlung, Munich, which depict rather more abnormal figures.⁴ A drawing in the Hermitage, Leningrad, attributed to Annibale, also depicting a painter at his easel, is not a caricature and is far more brilliant in execution.⁵ Nor, to remain within the Bolognese sphere, do we find examples of this type among the many caricatures drawn by Guercino. We are forced, therefore, to look elsewhere for the author of our drawing, or perhaps the artist who copied it from a better prototype.

Our author – or copyist – could well have been Tuscan, for in style and conception this drawing fuses two genres typical of seventeenth-century Tuscan art. One is the custom of drawing the young members of the studio at work that originated in the 1400s but was pursued well into the seventeenth century in shops like that of Jacopo da Empoli. Though there was nothing caricatural about such sketches, our drawing and those of Jacopo da Empoli and his school share certain stylistic traits, notably the compact pen line that follows only the contours and the precise shading, which is especially typical of many of Jacopo da Empoli's drawings of youths in contemporary clothing.⁶ The other genre is caricature true and proper or, as the Florentines called it, *figure caricate*, which became fashionable in the early seventeenth century and was particularly popular in the circles of draftsman-engravers like Stefano della Bella and Baccio del Bianco who worked in the manner of Callot.⁷

One is reminded of Baccio, who was also a painter, by this figure's thick contour lines and the dense application of wash.⁸ Baccio and his many imitators preferred colored washes in greater variety than the two shades used here, their drawings are generally wittier and livelier, at least in intent, and the subjects of their caricatures were not drawn from life, as ours seems to be, but were usually, to use the obsolete word, *caramogi*, or dwarfs made to seem ridiculous in both body and gesture. Nevertheless, the similarities that do exist between those drawings and ours may confirm the hypothesis that this sheet, so admired in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that it was engraved and published under the

name of the Carracci, yet so little regarded in our day, may be from the hand of a Tuscan, not a very skilled artist, true enough, but one who was rather singular in character. In any case, that the drawing was made at the start of the seventeenth century would appear to be confirmed by the style of the clothing.

NOTES:

1. On Arthur Pond and his *Caricatures*, see Hake 1922, especially pp. 328, 332–34, 346, no. 70, and Lippincott 1983, pp. 132–35, 186–87, nn. 4, 19.
2. See Washington, D.C. 1979.
3. Art Museum, Princeton University, 48.672; Gibbons 1977, no. 159.
4. Graphische Sammlung, 36924–37043; Boeck 1954.
5. Hermitage, 21177; Florence 1982, no. 7. Our sheet does not appear to be cited in the literature on the Carracci's drawings.
6. To name only a few examples of such sketches: the *Seated Youth* in the Uffizi (961F; Florence 1962, p. 55); the *Youth Drawing Seen from Behind* and *Youth Drawing* (Empoli workshop) in the Kupferstichkabinett, Frankfurt am Main (540, 539; Frankfurt am Main 1980, no. 60); and the *Youths Drawing* in the Musée Wicar, Lille (1157, 1191; Florence 1970a, no. 31).
7. For a discussion of that genre of graphic work and painting in Tuscany, see Gregori 1961.
8. See some of the drawings that Gregori published in 1961, in particular the *Dwarfs Wrapped in Cloaks* (fig. 19a; incorrectly captioned as being in the Uffizi) that was sold at Sotheby's, London, February 19, 1930. Among the products of Baccio's workshop, see the small volume in the Uffizi (16517F–16576F), which was identified by Petrioli Tofani, and another in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence (CL.XVIII, cod. 6, Magl.), both with figures of *caramogi* in humorous attitudes. M. Rossi studied the volumes in Florence in 1985 (pp. 34ff., 93ff.), along with another interesting small volume in the Biblioteca Comunale, Siena (Ms. S.II.3), that is signed and dated 1719 by Pietro Micheli da Torrita, evidence of the popularity the genre enjoyed well into the eighteenth century.

PROVENANCE: Probably Hugh Howard, London (see Lugt 2957); Henry Reveley, North Wales (Lugt 1356); his son, Hugh Reveley; sale, Sotheby's, London, May 13, 1924, lot 37. Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1924.

EXHIBITED: Oberlin 1942–44; New York 1979, no. 52, ill.

LITERATURE: Reveley 1820, p. 69.

Fabrizio Boschi

Florence ca. 1570–Florence 1642

Boschi, a member of a family of artists variously gifted as painters and draftsmen, is reputed to have been a pupil of Domenico Passignano's, but it is more likely that he became affiliated with his older colleague as a young artist with his formative years behind him. Recent evidence shows that, like many other Tuscans, Boschi was in Rome between 1602 and 1606. We have no record of any work he may have done during his stay in the capital, but the mark that sojourn left on his style is plain in paintings like *The Martyrdom of Saints Peter and Paul* (Uffizi, Florence), which he executed for the Certosa del Galluzzo soon after he returned to Florence. An even more intense luminism of Roman and Caravaggesque character, but adopted from such artists as Cigoli and the Gentileschi, is evident in his *Michelangelo Presenting Julius II with the Model of the Palace of the Tribunals in Via Giulia* of 1615–17 in the gallery of the Casa Buonarroti in Florence.

A certain syntactic ease in Boschi's art that is also implicit in the work of Cigoli and Matteo Rosselli becomes more pronounced in such later paintings as *The Virgin Appearing to Saint Bernard* in the church of San Frediano in Florence. His debt to Rosselli as well as to Passignano is also apparent in his many very painterly drawings, most of which are in chalk.

Fabrizio Boschi

112. Study for a Pietà

1975.I.314

Red chalk, traces of black chalk. 245 x 232 mm. Annotated in pen and brown ink at the lower right in a seventeenth-century hand: *Caracci*.

The seventeenth-century annotation on this drawing probably accounts for its attribution to Lodovico Carracci in 1924, when it was sold at Sotheby's alongside drawings from Luigi Grassi's collection.¹ The old annotation probably also prompted Szabo to ascribe the sheet to Annibale Carracci when he exhibited it in New York in 1979 and when he published it in 1983.

Yet the broken line and the rather flaccid emotional tone of this scene evince no particular relationship with Annibale Carracci's much more incisive and cultivated drawings. And these rather loosely conceived figures lack

even a hint of the classicism that is always present, even if only in a general sense, in the work of the Carracci and other Bolognese artists. Rather, one is strongly reminded of the early-seventeenth-century Florentine style associated with Matteo Rosselli, in which the Cinquecento emphasis on academic training gave way to an interest in the picturesque and sometimes almost bathetic portrayal of emotion-fraught subjects.

The author of our sheet may have taken as an example Matteo Rosselli's study in the Louvre, Paris, for the *Pietà* he painted in 1627 for the church of San Vincenzo in Modena.² This drawing is more expressive than Rosselli's study, however, and its style is less cadenced, with a freer line and soft parallel hatching. It brings to mind the graphic style of Ottavio Vannini and, even more so, as Petrioli Tofani has pointed out to me, Fabrizio Boschi, particularly in the drawings he made in the 1620s, when he was closer to Rosselli than to Passignano.

Boschi's activity as a draftsman awaits precise definition, but among the drawings already attributed to him we can single out, for example, the *Tobias and the Angel* in the National Gallery, Edinburgh,³ and two studies, one in the Uffizi,⁴ the other in the Janos Scholz collection, New York,⁵ for the archers in the *Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian* he painted in the 1620s in Santa Felicita, Florence. Our drawing can be profitably compared as well with a group of five sheets by Boschi in the Uffizi that were all executed in red or black chalk in the same style, especially a red chalk study for a *Pietà* (Fig. 112.1) that, though it is drawn from a slightly different viewpoint, with Christ in profile and shifted to the left, is in general disposition quite similar to our sheet.⁶ Figures of the same physical type as this Christ also recur in Boschi's work; he seems to have used the same model for Samson in his painting *Samson and Delilah*.⁷

Our sheet might date to the 1620s, when Boschi was collaborating with Rosselli and others on the frescoes in the Casino Mediceo di San Marco in Florence, for which there exist some preparatory studies not too remote from this drawing.⁸

NOTES:

1. The drawing is listed in Sotheby's catalogue under "L. Carracci." Berenson appears to have had no objection to this attribution, or if he did he made no note of it in his annotated copy of the sale catalogue. This sheet was sold with a group of drawings described as "from two private collections." Its provenance is given in the catalogue as "from the collection of Sir Edward Poynter, P.R.A." (see Lugt 874).
2. Louvre, 1550; Paris 1981–82, no. 64. For the painting in San Vincenzo, see Florence 1986–87, no. 2.173.



No. 112



Fig. 112.1 Fabrizio Boschi, *Study for a Pietà*. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence. Photograph: Foto Ottica Europa, Florence

3. National Gallery, D688; Andrews 1968, p. 22 (as Matteo Rosselli); Thiem 1969, p. 149 (as Fabrizio Boschi).
4. Uffizi, 9412F; Thiem 1969, p. 148, pl. 22.
5. Ibid., p. 149, pl. 23. Boschi's drawings are discussed to some extent in Thiem 1969 and 1977a, in Petrioli Tofani 1979, p. 82, and by Lucchesi in Florence 1986–87, vol. 2, pp. 161–65.
6. Uffizi, 9442F; photograph S.B.A.S. 130792. The four other drawings are 9417F, *Saint John the Baptist*; 9432F, *Prometheus*; 9421F, *An Angel*; and 9453F, *A Sibyl*.
7. Cantelli 1983, p. 27, fig. 64.
8. For the frescoes and the related drawings, see Masetti 1962.

PROVENANCE: Presumably Edward J. Poynter, London; sale, Sotheby's, London, May 13, 1924, lot 26.

EXHIBITED: Northampton (Mass.) 1942–44; New York 1979, no. 51, ill.

LITERATURE: Szabo 1983, no. 48, ill.

Ciro Ferri

Rome 1634–Rome 1689

Ciro Ferri was Pietro da Cortona's pupil and his most faithful assistant and follower. He assimilated his master's style in mimetic albeit skillful fashion, as can be seen in works he executed under Cortona's supervision, among them the central fresco in the Sala degli Ambasciatori in the Palazzo del Quirinale in Rome (1656–57) and the frescoes in the Sala di Apollo (completed 1659–61) and the Sala di Saturno (1663–65) in the Palazzo Pitti in Florence. He made several preparatory drawings for the Palazzo Pitti frescoes as well, also in imitation of Cortona.

In 1665 Ferri left Florence for Bergamo, where he spent two years working on a series of frescoes and oil paintings for the church of Santa Maria Maggiore. From Bergamo he may have traveled to Venice to study. By 1669, the year of Cortona's death, he was back in Rome. In the projects he inherited from Cortona and even in his own later works, Ferri never strayed far from Cortona's High Baroque style. The frescoes he began in 1670 in Sant'Agnese in Agone in the Piazza Navona in Rome are modeled on Cortona's designs. Perhaps in part because he was dissatisfied with them, Ferri abandoned work on the Sant'Agnese frescoes about 1673.

Ferri also worked as an architect and a sculptor, and he created many designs for engravings. He designed mosaics as well, and during the late 1670s he collaborated with Pietro Lucatelli on the cartoons for a series of tapestries for the Palazzo Barberini in Rome illustrating the life of Urban VIII. Some of those cartoons have been attributed to Cortona, as have many others of Ferri's drawings, even those that show his attempts, particularly in rapid sketches from his later years, to arrive at his own solutions.



No. 113

Ciro Ferri

113. Tullia Driving Her Chariot over the Body of Her Father

1975.1.398

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over black pencil; squared in black chalk. 266 x 476 mm. Laid down. Annotated at the lower right in pen and black ink: 8. Annotated on the old mount at the lower right in a nineteenth-century hand in pen and black ink: P. de Courtone, and in pencil: Cortona (Pietro da).

1596–1669 / Pen & bistre wash; below that, in a different hand in pencil: Tullia driving over . . . body of her father Servius in her haste to greet her husband Tarquinius Superbus as King who had caused her father to be assassinated. B.C. 534. M(?). R. 220. Annotated on the verso of the old mount in light brown ink: *Le dessin designé . . . Le plus Baux du Cabinit Croz[at]*, and lower down: *Tullie qui fait passer son char sur Le Corps de son perre / Ce dessin Capital, a été gravé par M.xxx*; in pen and dark brown ink, the first four words deleted and replaced by *Ce dessin est réputé*, and these words added after "*Le plus Baux du Cabinit Croz[at]*": *est le N° 974 Du Cabinet du prince Conti à Couté 400-fr- / et N° 219 Cattalogue du M. Lempereur*.

The singular subject and the old annotations allow us – in the absence of collectors' marks – to identify this fine drawing as the sheet that appeared in the sales of the collections of Jean-Denis Lempereur and of the Prince

de Conti in the eighteenth century and of Baron Dominique Vivant-Denon in 1826 as a "dessin capital" by Pietro da Cortona. The drawing was engraved in the eighteenth century (by "M****" according to the Lempereur sale catalogue), and a print (in reverse) by Franquinett appears in Vivant-Denon and Duval's *Monuments des arts du dessin* of 1829.

Ovid (*Fasti* 6.585–610) and Livy (1:48) relate the story of Tullia, the daughter of Servius Tullius, a legendary king of Rome in the sixth century B.C. Tullia was part of a plot to depose her father and place her husband, Tarquin the Proud, on the throne. Servius was assassinated, and Tullia, hurrying to meet Tarquin, ordered her chariot driver to run over her father's corpse. The dramatic episode enjoyed some popularity in the seventeenth century.

As was pointed out in the description of this sheet in the catalogue of the sale at Sotheby's in 1966, three other drawings of the same subject by Cortona or his circle exist: one at Windsor;¹ one in the Uffizi, Florence;² and one, much more closely related to ours, in the Louvre, Paris (Fig. 113.1).³ There is also a painting of the scene by Giuseppe Chiari (Burgeley House, London) that recalls

somewhat the composition of the drawing in the Uffizi but has only a general relationship to that of our drawing (which is in the opposite direction). When Szabo published the Lehman sheet in 1983, as by Cortona, he correctly pointed out that the number 8 at the lower right is in the same handwriting and position as the number 12 marked on a drawing in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, *Coriolanus Greeting His Family at the Gates of Rome*.⁴ He hypothesized that the two drawings may have been for part of a series of frescoes or engravings illustrating scenes from Roman history. A sheet depicting “Coriolan fléchi par sa famille” was sold alongside one depicting Tullia at the Crozat sale in 1741.⁵ If those two sheets were indeed the Berlin drawing and ours, they have long been considered companion pieces. The drawings are related thematically and, to some extent, technically (in that they are both *modelli*; the Berlin drawing is not squared and it has pronounced white heightening), but they are stylistically quite different: our drawing is less sharp and compact than the Berlin drawing, rendered as it is with minute, broken strokes and more transparent chiaroscuro, with liquid, uniform wash that pushes the figures in the foreground even closer to the front of the picture plane.

Those very stylistic traits may have been what induced Davis to reverse the traditional attribution and include this sheet, without further comment, in his catalogue of *Ciro Ferri's drawings*. As is well known, Ferri was Pietro da Cortona's most loyal pupil and collaborator, and he emulated Cortona's style in both paintings and drawings. Ferri's drawings have often been confused with Cortona's, particularly when they are connected with projects, such as the frescoes in the Apollo and Saturn rooms in the Palazzo Pitti in Florence, on which the two worked

closely together.⁶ In Ferri's work, however, the spatial arrangement of figures is less articulated than in Cortona's, and Ferri preferred diagonal formats and an overall friezelike effect, with entire scenes almost thrust into the foreground.

That is the case not only here but also in others of his drawings that have been the subject of debates over attribution, among them the *Saint John the Baptist Pointing at Christ* in the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, Rome;⁷ the *Adoration of the Shepherds* in the Louvre, Paris;⁸ *King Cyrus Freeing the Israelites* in the Albertina, Vienna;⁹ and *Moses Drawing Water from the Rock at Windsor*.¹⁰ The short, wavy, broken strokes of the pen and pencil distinguish those sheets, and ours, from Cortona's smoother, more vigorous drawings. The wash follows the line in cadenced fashion, creating a fragmented effect in the play of light and shadow that is somewhat reminiscent of Baciccio and, more generally, the followers of Bernini, who had some influence on Ferri's work. In this respect, our drawing is particularly close to the *Moses at Windsor*, and to the *Saint Peter, Saint John the Baptist, and Others on Clouds*, also at Windsor, which is a study for the decoration of the cupola of Sant'Agnese in Agone in Rome;¹¹ the *Design for an Altar with Kneeling Angels Supporting a Crucifix* in the Metropolitan Museum;¹² and the *Two Angels with an Urn* in the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, Rome.¹³ The treatment of the decorative motifs in the drawing in Rome is similar to that of the chariot and the horses' trappings in our drawing. And the same can be said of other decorative studies by Ferri, the *David and Goliath* in the Louvre, Paris,¹⁴ for example, or the *Decorative Motif with an Eagle* in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.¹⁵ The somewhat static way the trees in the background are handled here, though clearly Cortonesque, also recalls the *Moses at Windsor* and the *Saint John the Baptist* in Rome, as well as the *Lions' Den*, another drawing in the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe.¹⁶

The finish of our drawing and its fundamentally Cortonesque style place it not past the 1660s. Finished drawings by Ferri from after 1670 are rare, and in his later works the influence of Venetian and Roman art, always superimposed on what he learned from Cortona, is more evident. The degree of finish and the squaring suggest that the drawing may have been preparatory to a large-scale work, either an individual canvas or part of a fresco cycle, but we cannot discount the possibility that the composition may have been engraved during Ferri's lifetime, well before engravings of it were made at the behest of Lempereur and Vivant-Denon.



Fig. 113.1 Pietro da Cortona, *Tullia Driving Her Chariot over the Body of Her Father*. Musée du Louvre, Paris. Photograph: Réunion des Musées Nationaux

NOTES:

1. Royal Library, Windsor Castle, 4514; Blunt and Cooke 1960, no. 607 (as Pietro da Cortona); Pigler 1974, vol. 2, p. 438 (as Cortona). Blunt and Cooke mentioned an engraving by Lempereur in connection with the Windsor sheet, but the print is in fact closer to the drawings in the Uffizi and the Louvre (see notes 2 and 3 below).
2. Uffizi, 1173F; Blunt and Cooke 1960, under no. 607 (as Pietro da Cortona); Vitzthum 1965, no. 2, pl. 38 (as Giovanni Battista Foggini); Pigler 1974, vol. 2, p. 438 (as Foggini); Florence 1977, no. 25.
3. Louvre, 492 (as Pietro da Cortona).
4. Kupferstichkabinett, KdZ.26499; Dreyer 1979, pl. 53.
5. Lot 23 in Mariette's catalogue of the Crozat sale in 1741 is described as "deux [dessins très-finis] du même Maître [Pierre Berettini de Cortone] très-terminés, représentant; l'un Tullia, faisant passer son char sur le corps de son pere, l'autre Coriolan fléchi par la famille." According to Mireur ([1901] 1911, p. 216), the two drawings sold for 119 francs. See also Lugt 1921, p. 548.
6. For the drawings for the Apollo and Saturn rooms, see Campbell 1977, pp. 274–79, 283–87, and Rome 1977, nos. 3–5.
7. Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, F.C.124331; Rome 1977, no. 104; Davis (1982) 1986, p. 253, pl. 184. The drawing was engraved by Bloemaert in 1684.
8. Louvre, 500; Davis (1982) 1986, p. 243, pl. 28; Paris 1988, no. 63, ill. This is a study for the painting *The Adoration of the Shepherds* in the Prado, Madrid (Davis [1982] 1986, pl. 27), which has been ascribed to Cortona and to Ferri.
9. Albertina, 897; Wibiral 1960, p. 137, fig. 18; Davis (1982) 1986, p. 305, pl. 10. This drawing, a study for the Sala degli Ambasciatori in the Palazzo del Quirinale, was formerly attributed to Pietro da Cortona and to Romanelli.
10. Royal Library, Windsor Castle, 01117; Blunt and Cooke 1960, no. 125, fig. 43; Davis (1982) 1986, pp. 314–15, pl. 70. The drawing was engraved by Pietro Aquila.
11. Royal Library, Windsor Castle, 4518; Blunt and Cooke 1960, no. 124, fig. 17; Davis (1982) 1986, p. 314, pl. 113.
12. Metropolitan Museum, 65.66.4; Bean 1979, no. 174, ill.; Davis (1982) 1986, pp. 233–34.
13. Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, F.C.124334; Rome 1977, no. 81, ill.; Davis (1982) 1986, p. 253, pl. 178.
14. Louvre, 3079; Davis (1982) 1986, p. 244; Paris 1988, no. 64, ill.
15. Victoria and Albert Museum, 8456; Ward-Jackson 1979–80, no. 691. Davis ([1982] 1986) did not include this drawing.
16. Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, F.C.124350 (verso, with a putto and architectural ornaments on the recto); Rome 1977, no. 122, ill.; Davis (1982) 1986, p. 258.

PROVENANCE: Presumably Pierre Crozat, Paris; Crozat sale 1741, p. 26, lot 263(?); Jean-Denis Lempereur, Paris; Lempereur sale 1773, lot 219; Prince de Conti, Paris; Conti sale 1777, lot 974; Dominique Vivant-Denon, Paris; Vivant-Denon sale 1826, lot 246; George Mounsey, London; sale, Sotheby's, London, December 1, 1966, lot 2, ill.

LITERATURE: Vivant-Denon and Duval 1829, vol. 2, pl. 113; Mireur (1901) 1911, pp. 216–17; Lugt 1921, p. 548, under no. 2951(?); Pigler 1956, vol. 2, p. 418; Davis (1982) 1986, p. 237; Szabo 1983, no. 53, ill.

Luca Giordano

Naples 1634–Naples 1705

In Naples, probably under Jusepe de Ribera, Luca Giordano learned not only painterly techniques but also draftsmanship, an art not much cultivated in Neapolitan circles at the time. He became a deft and skillful albeit sometimes uneven draftsman, though he had a well-known disregard for his own drawings, which he considered mere working tools. His many-faceted artistic education and experience was as uneven as the quality of his drawings, and the great fame he achieved was compromised in part by the tremendous speed and facility that earned him the nickname "Luca fa presto."

When he was still a youth Giordano made his first trip to Rome, where he copied antique sculpture and was deeply impressed by the Baroque decorative works of Pietro da Cortona. He also traveled to Florence, Venice, Bologna, and Parma to complete his education at the very sources of the great painting of the Cinquecento and Seicento. The work he did on his return to Naples shows him vacillating between Ribera's naturalism and a style shaped by the rich background he had acquired, which also included an appreciation for the art of Rubens and Poussin and of his fellow Neapolitan Mattia Preti, in whose case the influence was mutual. He returned to Florence in 1665 and to Venice in 1667 to take on various commissions, and those experiences had an effect on the paintings he and the assistants he employed in his prolific studio in Naples produced over the next several years, among them those in San Gregorio Armeno (1678–79) and Santa Brigida (1678). In 1682 he was again in Florence to paint the sumptuous ceiling of the Palazzo Medici-Riccardi. In 1692 he was summoned to Madrid as court painter to Charles II. He stayed in Spain for ten years, working not only on the vast ceilings in the Escorial but also on the decoration of the Cason del Buen Retiro and the Palacio Real in Madrid and the cathedral in Toledo. He spent the last years of his life in Naples. His last work, finished in 1704, was the ceiling of the Cappella del Tesoro at San Martino.



No. 114

Luca Giordano

114. The Almighty with Angels

1975.I.331

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over black chalk sketch. 467 x 349 mm. Laid down. Vertical and horizontal folds through the center. Annotated in pen and brown ink at the bottom in a nineteenth-century hand: *Sc[h]izzo originale di Luca Giordano*.

The quick, summary penstrokes that define the forms and the crisp, skillful modeling with wash in both this drawing and No. 115 justify the old attribution to Luca Giordano, or “Luca fa presto.” These drawings may not match Giordano’s finest efforts, but he was, after all, an uneven draftsman.

In Giordano’s large and varied graphic oeuvre there are many drawings that are stylistically similar to these two, very sure in overall conception but effortless and mannered in certain areas, here particularly in the clouds and some of the angels’ heads. The putti are treated in a similar manner, for instance, in the *Holy Family with Saints John and Elizabeth* in the Prado, Madrid;¹ the *Sleeping Venus with Cherubs* in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London;² the *Putti with a Bull* in the National Gallery, Edinburgh;³ the *Holy Family* in the Graphische

Sammlung, Munich;⁴ and the *Minerva Striking Down the Giants* in the Museo di San Martino, Naples.⁵ In the *Saints Francis and Isidore* in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid,⁶ the little angels holding up the monstrance amid the clouds are almost identical to these.

The abbreviated way the wash is handled here and the rather hard, segmented contours are also found in other drawings certainly attributed to Giordano: the *Peter Released from Prison* in the Museo di Capodimonte, Naples;⁷ the *Madonna and Saints* in the Società Napoletana di Storia Patria, Naples;⁸ the *Beheading of John the Baptist* in a private collection, Genoa;⁹ the *Infant Christ Appearing to Saint Anthony of Padua* in the Louvre, Paris;¹⁰ and the *Madonna and Saints* in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.¹¹ With the exception of the drawing in the Victoria and Albert Museum, which dates to 1675, all these examples are from Giordano's youth or early adulthood, or the 1650s and 1660s. They attest not only to the lasting effect of Ribera's training but also to the contact Giordano had already had with the art of Rome, Venice, and Tuscany and to his appreciation of the drawings of Cambiaso and Poussin.

The figure of the Almighty, in particular, shows Giordano's debt to Pietro da Cortona and to drawings from the circle of Bernini. Analogous figures appear in several of Giordano's paintings, from the *Education of the Virgin* of 1664 in Santa Teresa a Chiaia; to the *Birth of the Virgin* in Santa Maria della Salute, one of his most important Venetian works; to *Saint Michael Expelling Lucifer*, owned by the duke of Almazán and painted during Giordano's sojourn in Spain in 1692–1702; to the *Triumph of Judith* of 1704 in the Cappella del Tesoro at San Martino, Naples.¹² That a throne with a similar rounded footrest appears in Giordano's fresco of 1682 on the ceiling of the Palazzo Medici-Riccardi in Florence is another sign of the persistence of these motifs.

Nos. 114 and 115 may have been studies for the same decorative scheme, if not the same composition. No. 114 seems to have been conceived for the upper portion of a Judgment scene, perhaps for the top of a large altarpiece or the center of a ceiling decoration. The symmetrical circle of angels with more joyous expressions in No. 115 may have been intended to decorate a small dome; the cloud held aloft by the five angels at the center may have been meant to serve as a seat for a saint in glory or the Immaculate Virgin. Neither drawing, however, seems to relate directly to any extant works by Giordano.

NOTES:

1. Prado, F.D.655; Mena Marqués 1983, p. 98, fig. 163.
2. Victoria and Albert Museum, D.8639; Ward-Jackson 1979–80, no. 709.
3. National Gallery, D.714 (verso, with a *Rape of Proserpine* on the recto); Andrews 1968, no. 399.
4. Ferrari and Scavizzi 1966, p. 259, fig. 669.
5. Museo di San Martino, 20840; Paris 1983, no. 33.
6. Biblioteca Nacional, Barcia 7739; Madrid 1984, no. 61.
7. Museo di Capodimonte, 1431; Gaeta 1985, no. 54.
8. Società Napoletana di Storia Patria, 11105; Paris 1983, no. 35 (with bibliography). The drawing is a study for the painting in San Potito in Naples from about 1664.
9. Naples 1984–85, no. 3.38. This is a study for the Chapel of San Giacomo della Marca in Santa Maria la Nova, Naples, of about 1660.
10. Louvre, 12969; Paris 1967, p. 37. The Louvre drawing is contemporary with the early painting formerly in Sant'Angelo Custode in Rome.
11. Victoria and Albert Museum, D.1022–1900; Ward-Jackson 1979–80, no. 707. This drawing, a study for an altarpiece, bears an annotation by Padre Resta that dates it to 1675.
12. Ferrari and Scavizzi 1966, pp. 57, 80, 176, 230, figs. 108, 109, 127, 349, 505.

PROVENANCE: [Tomas Harris, Spanish Gallery, London]. Acquired by Robert Lehman from Harris on September 12, 1929.

LITERATURE: Szabo 1983, no. 52, ill.

Luca Giordano

115. A Glory of Angels

1975.I.332

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over black chalk sketch. 387 x 491 mm. Laid down. Vertical drying fold right of center; losses along drying fold, along the lower edge, and in the upper and lower right corners; stained. Annotated at bottom center in pen and brown ink in an eighteenth-century hand: *Lucas Iordanus*.

See the discussion under No. 114. Similar groups of putti appear in Luca Giordano's *Saint Anne and the Virgin* of 1657 in the church of the Ascensione a Chiaia in Naples, the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* of 1664 in Santa Teresa a Chiaia, in which the cherubs are also holding a canopy, and the *Assumption of the Virgin* of 1667 in Santa Maria della Salute in Venice. The echo of Cambiaso, whom Giordano greatly admired, is even more evident here than in No. 114.



No. 115

PROVENANCE: [Tomas Harris, Spanish Gallery, London]. Acquired by Robert Lehman from Harris on September 12, 1929.

EXHIBITED: Memphis (Tenn.) 1964.

LITERATURE: Szabo 1983, fig. 55.

Italy

In the manner of Raphael

116. Madonna and Child with the Young Saint John the Baptist

1975.I.414

Pen and brown ink. 212 x 157 mm. Edges uneven; left edge made up. Annotated at the lower left in pencil in a modern hand: 82; and to the right of that in pen and brown ink in what might be a nineteenth-century hand (partly scratched out): *Raffaello(?)*. Annotated on the verso in pencil in a modern hand: 15 / III²⁷ / Rom... / Umbria / 165020; and VRX. (circled).

Robert Lehman may have acquired this drawing and Nos. 37 and 42 at the same time. All three sheets bear the mark of the collector "Dr. L. P.," whom Lugt identified in 1956 as Dr. Ludwig Pollak of Rome.¹ A note in the Robert Lehman Collection files indicates that in 1955 Berenson labeled this drawing "Italian (manner of Raphael), late 16th c."²

This is indeed a rather weak and mediocre academic exercise *à la manière de*, but it is likely to date much later than the sixteenth century. The sketch is a pastiche of two well-known drawings by Raphael: the two principal figures were adopted, with only slight variations in the garment and halo, from a *Madonna and Child* in the Uffizi, Florence, and the infant John the Baptist is an all too obvious and not especially accurate approximation, shifted slightly to the right, of the figure in the celebrated study, also in the Uffizi, for the *Esterhazy Madonna*.³ The landscape in the background is the author's own bungled invention. Although there were copies of the *Esterhazy Madonna* sketch elsewhere, both these drawings have been in the Uffizi at least since the eighteenth century, so whoever made our drawing may have been either from Florence or a student there. That he chose two such early Raphael drawings suggests that he may have been a dabbler in the purist neo-Raphaelesque approach that was popular in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when artists like Giuseppe Bossi produced countless copies and forgeries (albeit much better than this one) of Raphael's drawings.⁴

NOTES:

1. Ludwig Pollak, the art historian, is presumed to have died in 1943.
2. The undated note refers to a letter of February 1955, presumably from Berenson, that can no longer be located in the files. In the catalogue of the exhibition in New York in 1979



No. 116

this drawing is listed as "Florentine, second half sixteenth century."

3. Uffizi, 515E, 539E; Fischel 1913-41, nos. 126, 127; Venice 1984, nos. 43, 44. For the provenance of these two drawings, see also Petrioli Tofani 1986-87, pp. 231, 242.
4. The very soft, or "spongy," type of paper also indicates that this drawing may date to the eighteenth century. For Bossi, see Milan 1984, nos. 27ff.

PROVENANCE: Unidentified collector (similar to Lugt 2695, 2697, 2705); Ludwig Pollak, Rome (Lugt Suppl. 788b).

EXHIBITED: New York 1979, no. 63, ill.

CONCORDANCE,
REFERENCES,
AND INDEXES

Concordance

Metropolitan Museum of Art Accession Numbers and Catalogue Numbers

accession no.	catalogue no.	accession no.	catalogue no.	accession no.	catalogue no.
1975.1.247	41	1975.1.314	112	1975.1.402	9
.248	40	.316	111	.403	61
.249	110	.317	103	.404	60
.251	42	.318	67	.405	99
.252	4	.319	16	.406	97
.253	86	.320	13	.407	96
.254	15	.321	91	.408	36
.255	76	.323	34	.409	68
.256	1	.326	38	.410	69
.257	37	.329	79	.411	90
.258	104	.330	8	.412	35
.260	7	.331	114	.413	81
.261	6	.332	115	.414	116
.262	3	.333	32	.417	17
.264	64	.334	98	.418	28
.265	65	.335	62	.419	22
.267	92	.365	106	.420	71
.268	93	.366	108	.421	88
.269	102	.367	107	.422	2
.270	85	.368	105	.531	44
.271	84	.369	80	.532	43
.272	87	.370	83	.533	45
.273	20	.371	82	.534	46
.274	11	.372	12	.535	48
.275	19	.373	14	.536	50
.279	21	.374	18	.537	49
.280	78	.376	70	.538	51
.281	89	.377	94	.539	47
.282	26	.382	25	.540	52
.283	53	.383	23	.542	31
.284	56	.384	24	.543	33
.285	55	.393	74	.544	39
.286	58	.394	72	.545	109
.287	54	.395	75	.546	95
.288	59	.396	77	.547	10
.289	57	.397	66	.552	101
.290	29	.398	113	.553	100
.291	30	.399	73	.562	63
.313	27	.401	5		

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